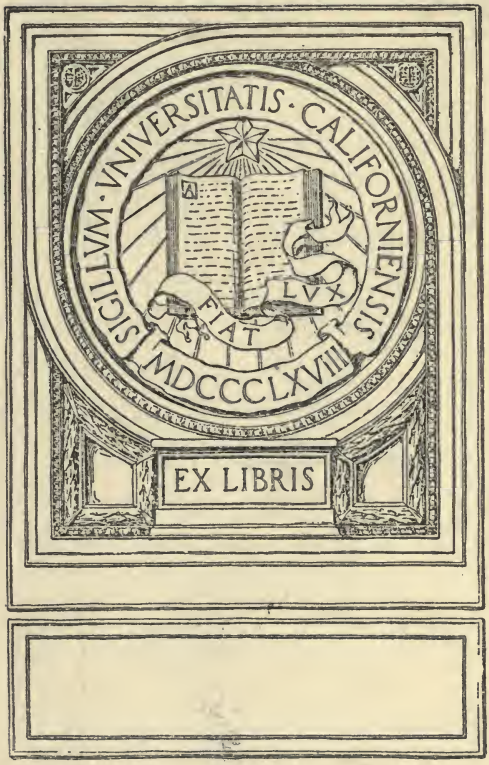
Why Wars Come

Rear Admiral A. P. NIBLACK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Why Wars Come

or

Forms of Government and Foreign Policies in Relation to the Causes of Wars : :

by Rear Admiral A. P. Niblack
U. S. Navy

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"The ruin of the ancient Roman world was brought about, not only by the slow decay due to internal causes, but also by a terrible accident, the destruction of the keystone of all legal authority which threw this civilization into the convulsions of revolutionary despotism. That political accident was the destruction, by the Emperor Septimus Severus, of the authority of the Senate, of the only principle of legitimacy hallowed by the traditions of centuries."

—From "Forty Years of Diplomatic Life" by Baron Rosen, former Russian Ambassador to the United States of America.

Confucius, when asked what quality is most essential in a ruler of a country, replied, "Humility and a deep sense of responsibility." When asked what quality is the most destructive, replied, "A wrong-headed obstinacy, which brooks no advice, remonstrance or opposition."

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FOREWORD

THIS book entitled "Why Wars Come," does not fully cover the entire field. It is an elaboration of a lecture entitled "Forms of Government in Relation to their Efficiency for War," delivered at the U. S. Naval War College, and subsequently published in the United States Naval Institute Proceedings in September 1920, and of a lecture prepared for the Grotius Society of England on "Foreign Policies in Relation to the Causes of War."

The Washington Conference, by reconciling most of the conflicting policies in the Pacific, did much to avoid future trouble in that particular area, but anyone who permits the loose reasoning and parochial omniscience of politicians to lull them into false security has only to examine the fundamental causes of war to realize that there are as many wars brewing in the future as there have been in the past since the causes

remain. The world apparently learns little by experience and only asks to be allowed to go to sleep again for awhile.

The Author.

May 1st, 1922.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Horrors of War

THE recent World War has brought upon the whole world, upon each and every individual in the remotest corner of the world, the burden of the five years lost by this war — lost wealth, lost man-power, lost time, lost credit, lost opportunities, lost confidence, lost initiative, and, as bad as anything else, lost leadership. The grief and suffering have been terrible enough and certainly some good should come out of it all, but has, for instance, the world really been made safe for democracy, and is democracy itself entirely safe for the world without guarantees that liberty is not mere license. Are we, after all, sure that the liberty bonds we bought in high enthusiasm are not mere bonds to perpetuate the same old commercial-political system which has caused

previous wars, caused this war, and, will, automatically, in the course of time, cause other wars.

All right-thinking people abhor war, for it is hateful, demoralizing and destructive. There is almost nothing good to be said in its favor, and yet we all know that universal peace is not in sight and that fresh wars are in the making. It is well, therefore, to ask why wars come? Is there no definite way to avoid them? Who and what in a general way is responsible for the madness and folly of war?

The Causes of War

Wars result primarily from the conflicting interests or the conflicting policies of states. It is well, therefore, to inquire why national policies necessarily conflict. Imperfectly organized governments have plunged some countries into wars. It is well, therefore, to examine carefully the forms of government. We may express it in these terms. War being possible it is well to consider national policies and forms of government in their relation to war, in the hope of avoiding the causes of war.

The Survival of The Fittest

Why do some states perish from the earth while others survive?

Does history show that the form of government is an essential factor in the survival of a country?

It is here maintained that the virtue in any form of government, constitutional, monarchical, or republican, is in how far it provides for the national defense; definitely fixes the responsibility therefor; possesses executive and administrative efficiency; excites the interest of its citizens in matters of internal and external policy; and insures the mutual co-operation of the forces controlling the national resources of the country in furthering national interests and in aiding in the national defense.

What are the requisites of stable and enduring government?

It is here maintained that the firmness of the foundation of a state is measured by the rights, privileges, and participation in the government of all of its citizens alike. No state is stable in which the rights of citizens do not imply

impartial military and financial obligation as conditional on political rights.

Is the right to vote, with or without educational or property qualifications, an inalienable one?

It is here maintained that, while governments may or may not rest ultimately on the consent of the governed, any government which unduly restricts suffrage has too great a chance to be a dangerous neighbor, or as Professor Albert Bushnell Hart conversely puts it: Government depends ultimately for its existence "on its conformity to the will of that world's spirit which makes and unmakes civilizations." That is why autocracies are dangerous. In other words, where all governments play the game alike, through the consent of the governed, the chances of war are reduced to a minimum. World solidarity must be predicted on reasonable suffrage in each and every country in the world.

Has autocracy any advantages in a military way over democracy?

It is here maintained that popular institutions are superior to autocracies if people are

as jealous of the rights of others as they are of their own rights. Where autocracy generally scores a temporary advantage over democracy is in exacting national duties from its citizens while leaving questions of their personal rights a bit clouded. On the other hand, in democracies, the tendency is to exact personal rights and leave national obligations a bit clouded. In democracies, also, politicians are prone to preach the dangers of militarism, and, by inference, impugn the disinterested patriotism of professional officers and enlisted men. This raising of the spectre of the military bugaboo is usually in order to tighten their hold on the reigns of government and avoid the ugly issue of military conscription, or equal military obligation. This political claptrap is childishly simple but always effective.

What is the safest form of government?

It is here maintained that representative democratic government endowed with the virtues of political foresight and reasonable military preparedness is the safest and even the highest form whether it be a republic or a limited monarchy. This is true whether we regard

the state as merely a great public service corporation or as a sacred institution set over and above the people of the country.

Is idealism or materialism the real formative power in the world?

It is here maintained that greed is the ultimate cause of nearly all wars through the selfish national policies pursued.

The Difference Between A Politician and A Statesman

The difference between a politician and a statesman is that the politician puts the success of his political party first; the interests of his community and his constituents, second; his reelection, or his private interests, third; and whatever happens to be important in the way of personal pressure on him by others, fourth. If national interests usually count with him higher than fourth place he is a statesman, for a statesman is a man who at least regards foreign policy quite as important as domestic policy. The most hopeful symptom of a politician budding into a statesman is when he stops

talking about the liberties of his "fellow-citizens" and begins to talk of their duties. There are too many politicians and not enough statesmen in the world.

CHAPTER II

SOME OF THE REQUISITES OF NATIONALITY

Making States to Order

SUPREME Councils and Peace Conferences are creating new states or reforming old ones along new lines. Will this prevent future wars? This depends somewhat upon guarantees, but involves almost a change in human nature. After all, even the maintenance of peace by a "League of Nations" is simply peace by police.

A state is merely a definite area occupied by a group of peoples, not necessarily of common blood, or of a common language, but with a common ideal (if not a common "kultur") united under one government. The stability of a state, however, depends, besides, on three other important factors: (1) Form of government, embodying the ideals of the peoples. (2) National security, requiring certain strategic frontiers.

(3) Vital economic guarantees as to raw materials, markets, and access to the sea in sufficient measure.

The provision of reasonable national security and of the means of economic existence is quite as important as the recognition of race or of religious affinities, or of a common ideal. The immunity from future wars may well rest in the happy solution of these requisites, but there still remains, unaltered and untouched by the great war, the prolific sources of all past wars and wars to come in the active political and economic force for which there is no other name than greed, often unfortunately masked as enlightened selfishness in such phrases as "Spheres of Influence," "Colonial Empires," "Industrial Supremacy," "Preferential Duties," etc., in counter distinction to the "Open Door." In the degree countries' avowed national policies steer clear of greed the chances of war are lessened.

How Much Greed is Legitimate

As much as we would like to believe that governments embody altruism and the ideals

of peoples, governments are organized to advance the interests and welfare of their peoples, and "enlightened selfishness" is the legitimate ferment or yeast which makes for material progress. The danger, however, in diplomacy, in national policies, in commerce, in communities, and in human society is in over selfishness, which unchecked, drifts easily into greed. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, which requires recognition also of other people's liberties and rights. Woolsey says, however, "In the present condition of humanity, selfishness rather than altruism is necessarily the fundamental principle of the state."

From the dawn of history to the early tribal days, the seeking of more favorable hunting and pasture lands was a form of the struggle for existence, which, in feudal days, after agriculture had provided food for man and beast, led to migration towards more fertile soils and equable climates. These movements of necessity meant war, and, when successful, drove out, subjugated, or absorbed other tribes or peoples. In our own day, the acquisition of "Colonial Empires" going on under our very noses, has

paid no heed to the formality of consent of the tenants of the soil. The opportunities to create commerce and national wealth through mineral, oil, and agricultural resources of areas occupied by backward peoples has proven the fatal lure, which, through secret diplomacy, has not only made war possible, but unavoidable. In the past, nine international wars out of ten have been based on questions of territory and trade. Revolts and civil wars are not, of course, included in this sweeping characterization, but even our Revolutionary, Mexican and Civil Wars, were economic in origin.

After civilization passed through the period of the domestication of animals and the pasturing of herds, and had reached the stage of providing food for man and beast through agriculture, then manufacturing began, which in its turn demanded raw materials, trade, and trade routes on land and sea. With increasing demands for foreign markets, after the home market is supplied, and, with intensive cultivation reaching its limit, pressure of population, or desire to monopolize the sources of raw material have led to the seeking of wider markets

and more land. This has usually taken the form first of peaceful commercial penetration, followed by ultimate political control of areas owned or occupied by undeveloped or weaker peoples. It is unnecessary to trace the steps, but where right has not always succeeded, might rather generally has. This need not discourage right, but, as between states, who has the power to decide which has the right? Of course there is the appeal to arbitration, but, while a writ of *habeas corpus* may obtain the release of an individual in jail, there is no such process of releasing a subject state held in pawn by another more powerful. Who is going to restore Africa to its original owners?

"Spheres of Influence" is another name for economic exploitation of the world's raw materials, and "Colonial Expansion" may be very easily translated into "Closed Markets" and "Preferential Tariffs." The germ of war is human greed, exploited by secret diplomacy.

Raw Materials

It is, of course, a vital necessity of all manufacturing countries to have free access to the

world's raw materials. After this the question of markets is very much one of the quality and price of manufactured articles since supply and demand follows definite lines except where modified by the inter-position of tariffs or preferential duties, and it is these artificial barriers which cause much diplomatic friction necessitating treaties and agreements. A sound economic policy consistently pursued by a government is the foundation of the wealth of a nation, but it produces dangerous rivalries and sometimes war. A strong economic policy increases individual initiative, national enterprise and inventiveness. One writer even says of war that it is "the ultimate test of the relative strength of two nations in all the qualities which make for national greatness, physical vigor, order, discipline, personal courage, patience, far sightedness, the genius of leadership, organizing capacity and efficiency in the production of wealth; and we must realize that nations do not get their way by asking for it, but by being able to assert it, for policy without requisite force behind it must be abandoned."

Mr. H. N. Brailsford in his book "The War of Steel and Gold" says:

> "It is not true that trade follows the flag. It is true that the flag follows investments * * *. The trader is in one sense a nomad. If one market begins to fail him he turns to another. If a country to which he used to export goods is torn by civil war or threatened with bankruptcy he does not call for intervention. He goes elsewhere or waits for better times. The investor, on the other hand, has acquired a 'stake' in some foreign country and anchored his fortunes irrevocably upon it. Unless he is prepared to lose his stake he must, if the country in question goes bankrupt or is threatened by civil war or revolution, call in the imperial arm to defend him."

Colonization in the old days was really a form of national growth. People settled on land and finally came to dominate it. Annexation to the home government was the next natural step. In America we have made a distinction between the outlying possessions of Alaska and Hawaii as "Territories" acquired by Act of Congress, in which our tariffs and other laws apply, and the Philippines, Guam and Porto Rico as "Insular Possessions" because acquired by treaty

ratified by the Senate. Our government even reserves the right to impose duties on imports from these possessions.

From a military standpoint, it would be very much better strategically if we could treat Hawaii and Alaska as "Insular Possessions" instead of as "Territories," as there are certain race problems and national economical responsibilities which seem to make military domination in both of these possessions an absolute necessity, instead of having, as now, a local territorial government, with a large minority of the people, American citizens, engaged in their own business pursuits, whereas, strong central direction is necessary.

Strategic Frontiers

This question needs no elaboration as the world is now in a ferment over such questions. The "Monroe Doctrine" defines the strategic frontiers of the United States. With a powerful fleet the strategic frontiers of Great Britain may be said to be the seven seas up to the marine league that girdles their confines. With less powerful countries, however, hemmed in

by neighbors, this question takes an acute form, as with Italy to the North, France to the Eastward, and with, for instance the German Empire in nearly all directions.

"Kulter" as a Requisite of Nationality

This word "kultur" has come much in vogue in its special application to Germany, the word itself being German in its special application and implying the customs, art, literature, traditions, and ideals of a people or a nation. Germany was, in pre-Napoleonic times, somewhat deeply influenced by French "kultur," but has gradually cast it out, and, prior to the late war, the world came to hold German "kultur," developed under the militaristic Hohenzollerns, as something dangerous to the world and curiously enough as being uniquely a German institution. As a matter of fact, for instance, Japanese "kultur" is so real and tangible a thing as to be woven into the very warp and woof of Japanese life.

The English tradition of "kultur," for instance, so deeply impregnates American national life that we are only just now beginning

to lose the impress of British colonial days. Our literature, our language, our common law, our sports, our vices, our foods, our teas, our bridge whist and auction bridge, our clothes, our weights and measures, our etiquette of social visits, our military and naval ideas, our uniforms, our theatres, our women's suffrage ideas, our scientific methods, our clubs, are all practically either of English origin or we share them with the English. We have every reason to be proud of and satisfied with them, apparently, except in so far as they hinder our own progress and development, such as in the voluntary system of recruiting, to which England has now gone back, while we are waivering, and our antiquated weights and measures, for which both countries should be ashamed; our effete social protocal of first visits, differing from the universal and diplomatic protocal; our snobbery through riches, which is harmless enough; and our making the rich bear unduly the burden of taxation and charitable contribution. That America shall in time evolve a distinctly national "kultur" is inevitable, but the solvent has really been and will remain in our common

language. We must clearly realize that there is also in the world an Italian, a Greek, a Turkish, a Russian, a Chinese, a Hindoo, a Dutch, a Portuguese, etc., "kulture."

On the other hand all Latin-America lives under the Spanish tradition of "kultur," although in late years somewhat influenced by the French. One may get an excellent idea and feel at home in Spain after a visit to Central and South America, recognizing so much in Spain that she has given to her former colonies, just as one may, from a knowledge of Portuguese, Spanish and French, find a Latin grammar familiar on first acquaintance. It is the difference in "kultur" which really makes a chasm between countries or peoples which is so hard to bridge. It is not so much racial as cultural. Our ideas, our methods, our governments are different.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES

What is Policy?

IF YOU ask the most intelligent man or woman of your acquaintance to enumerate, off-hand, some of the national or foreign policies of their own country you will probably get a rather halting and lame reply, and yet nearly every country has many national policies and several very definite ones which may involve them at any time in war if the policies are too brusquely flouted. By policy we mean an attitude or an avowed course of action which constantly influences or determines our relations with other countries. For instance, the "Monroe Doctrine" is a definite policy which America is ready to go to war about, and which is, therefore, effective. But there are many other forms or phases of policy which any country may have which are less definite, but just as real, such as holding to a political ideal

(such as religious toleration); or as isolation (no entangling alliances); or as exclusion (such as exclusion of Asiatics); or rivalry (such as between England and Prussia); or selfishness; or pride; or ambition; or as racial or religious antipathy or fear; or suspicion; or misrepresentation in the daily papers (propaganda); or race hatred, always in danger of degenerating into secret intrigue, secret alliances, and secret preparation for war, or into war itself, a people's war, sweeping rulers and cabinets over the brink, as in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. While policy itself may be only an attitude, your neighbors or geography may provide you with one, as in the case of Switzerland, where a defensive policy compells her to maintain a national army and girdle her borders with forts. Climate induced Russia to seek ice-free outlets to the sea and brought her in conflict in turn with Japan, Turkey, and then the Central Powers. Economic conditions have dictated to some nations the exclusion of immigrants or forbidding the emigration of one's own people, and to others the erection of economic barriers or tariff walls.

Whether we consider policy as an attitude translated into action; or as the clearly defined ideals of a nation expressing the collective will; or as seeking the greatest good of the people, as represented by "national interests;" under any name or any form of government, the state that is not prepared to fight for its existence is well along its way into ancient history. Every state must seek diplomatically either actively or passively, aggressively or defensively, to further its racial and political solidarity, or ultimately lose its political identity as an independent and self-respecting member of the community of nations. History records this on every page, for, in the conflicting play of the policies of different states, and of geographical, natural, and economic forces, there is no such condition as stable equilibrium, and no such thing as perpetual world's peace, which is the figurative political heaven, attained only through the death of those who realize it. To cease struggling is to cease to exist, for in this world the lion and the lamb lie down together only when the lamb is comfortably inside of the lion. There is really no such thing as a

purely peaceful policy. Death ensues when struggling ceases.

What are The Elements of Foreign Policy?

Foreign policy, as well as domestic policy, is the precaution taken for continued national existence, and therefore quite legitimate and proper in every way.

International politics are the political relations of the various governments through domestic and foreign policies consciously or unconsciously pursued by each. Natural forces, economic conditions, and secret agreements often produce unconscious policies which suddenly bring about very strained relations between countries. Governments further their policies through diplomacy, the activity of which depends on how vital the purpose is. The diplomatic negotiations between the governments usually run their course through conciliation, compromise, compensation, and then often abandonment. If diplomacy fails it therefore means submission, evasion, or, in the final analysis, war.

While it can not be said that all roads lead

to war, yet it may be truly said, because of the inevitable play of cross purposes, the persistence of any country in fixed policies will inevitably lead to war where skillful and experienced leadership is lacking. Men, political parties, tariffs, national ambitions and policies may change, but the forces of nature and human ideals remain and persist, and force the unavoidable issues inevitable, such as the slavery question. Side stepping merely postpones and often simply only beclouds the issue, but in the end nothing is settled until it is settled right. For this reason experienced and trained diplomats lessen the chances of war. To oppose trained diplomacy with untrained is like, in war, opposing trained troops with untrained ones.

During the period of strained relations preceding war, the governments, through diplomacy, seek to delay or accelerate the declaration of war, according to strategy, or according as illy or well prepared for war, as illustrated in our war with Spain. During war diplomacy must conduct the international relations in a manner most favorable to the military

operations or the strategy which policy demands, and thus must be even more actively and carefully employed than in time of peace, which is an additional reason why trained and experienced diplomats are necessary.

The strength of diplomatic representations is largely in direct ratio with the forces behind it, physical and moral. Moral force is based on right, but in many nations, might is unquestionably the dominant factor. Success in war is dependent upon prepared and sustained land and sea forces operating in accordance with sound strategy and backing up sound policies. A virtuous nation should have trained statesmen and diplomats in charge of its affairs, but it certainly must have the land and sea forces to correspond with its policies. Governments, armies and navies are still a business for trained men, in spite of all the loose talk about the citizen soldier, and the "dollar a year" volunteers.

Diplomacy

It is the custom of civilized countries to publish, from time to time, the diplomatic cor-

respondence in relation to specific subjects of diplomatic interchanges, such as "White Books," "Red Books," etc. Treaties and agreements are likewise communicated to the world, and become in effect, the public law governing peoples. From reading such documents one often fails to see why diplomacy has failed, and war has ensued. The joker is usually to be found in secret diplomacy, and in secret clauses and agreements "whereby the happiness, the prosperity, and the lives of millions of men and women are often placed in deadly peril, without their knowledge or consent." This has been the curse of the world up to the present day, and is against every theory of popular government. It is at the bottom of America's remaining aloof from European entanglements at the present day.

The diplomat as a trained servant of the state, and, working only in the interest of the state, is an instrument of peace as long as he uses the well understood phrases of diplomacy, and in no way commits the nation he represents to conditions not compatible with the "avowed policy and ideals of the people." He is an

instrument of war when he secretly intrigues, signs secret agreements, or commits the nation to a line of conduct in favor, not alone of private corporations, but of national interests which are so selfish and sinister as to be kept from the light of day.

Regarding any policy as possibly leading to the danger of war, even a policy of abject and servile cringing, the statesmen, as well as the politicians representing the political parties necessary to representative government, usually frame national policies and the "party platforms" to suit the people, and then the military and naval authorities must shape the plans to harmonize with them, but to show how difficult it is to secure continuity in any policy, every one knows, in America, that the glowing political party platforms, shaped up to secure votes, have ample time to be forgotten when the successful party comes in office on March 4th, nearly a year later. Our representative government must under this system remain responsive to political issues from which the heat of party enthusiasm has had time to cool. This, however, may have the advantage of the pre-

cept that "second thoughts are best." In time of peace it is the duty of statesmen and politicians to educate the people as to the policies advocated and furnish the various branches of the government with the means to support these policies to the extent which they expect the size and preparedness of our naval and military forces to silently weigh in the effectiveness of diplomatic negotiations.

However much, therefore, intelligent political foresight requires naval and military preparedness, the obvious fact is often overlooked that preparation can not be postponed until war threatens, because, during the period of strained relations any overt preparation will precipitate the war. *The only preparation which counts is that which only leaves mobilization as the remaining step when the inevitable happens, for the great principle of war is to secure at the very outset every possible advantage of time, place, armament, numbers, and morale.*

One writer says: "In modern war more depends upon what has been accomplished before the commencement of hostilities than upon what is done after the first shot is fired, and

this preparation rests with the statesmen and not with the military leaders. In these days that nation which is beaten in preparation for war is already half beaten in war itself." This may seem not to have been true in 1917 when America went into the World War, but we must not forget that the British fleet had the German fleet bottled up and we had ample opportunity to prepare, unmolested, even after war was declared. Such a happy remedy for a failure to organize our resources prior to war will never come again.

We must also realize that a policy which gives advantages to one state may cause equal disadvantages to another, and the friction which is developed by the struggle may be sufficiently great to light the flame of war, unless one of the nations either submits its will to that of the other or is fortunate enough to be able to appeal to arbitration, or a Conference, or a League of Nations.

Some Samples of National or World Policies

Possibly it will be fairer and an evidence of good faith to point out clearly and boldly the

definite and avowed policies of the United States of America, and enumerate some of those of other countries less specifically.

Policy No. 1. "No Entangling Alliances." This policy was given to us by the "Father of Our Country," George Washington, and definitely commits us to isolation. We won our Independence by an alliance with France, and, while we were merely "associated" with the Allies in the late war, yet there were subsequent direct proposals that we form an alliance with France of a definite but tentative nature. The "Monroe Doctrine" is really a one-sided Pan-American alliance which we have thrust on unresponsive peoples, obligating ourselves to do all the work of defending them against foreign aggression. It is not inconceivable that we may some day have to fight an alliance against us, and, with our policy of no alliances, we ought to now be very forehanded in our preparations to go it alone. Also, with such a policy, skillful diplomacy should at least be employed so as not to offend more than one country at a time. As a matter of fact the

United States still holds aloof from European entanglements.

Policy No. 2. "The Monroe Doctrine." This dates from 1823, but various Presidents have subsequently read into the original Monroe Doctrine meanings which have broadened its scope, and increased its ambiguities, such as anti-colonization and ante-acquisition of any territory in this hemisphere by an European, or other power, and the Lodge Resolution as to foreign corporations. The latest enunciation as to foreign concessions has, for instance, been misunderstood by an English writer, H. N. Brailsford, in his book "The War of Steel and Gold," who says:

> "An interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine put forward by President Wilson seems to mean that no European capitalists may henceforth obtain concessions in the American continent without encountering American opposition. * * * If it is to be strictly enforced, it would mean that the United States claims the whole of Latin America as its exclusive sphere of economic penetration. In that doctrine Europe is not likely to acquiesce, and America may soon be the field of a conflict as acute as any that Turkey and China have witnessed."

It is certainly not saying too much to predict that the next step in the widening of the Monroe Doctrine will be as follows:

> "The political ownership of any territory in the Western Hemisphere shall not be transferred to any country whose seat of government is not located therein."

This is a corollary of our defence of the Panama Canal.

Professor A. B. Hart says:

> "The United States can not have its Monroe Doctrine in the future without paying for it. We have had it on free terms for over a century, but the time of free lunches in international affairs has gone."

Policy No. 3. "Asiatic Exclusion." This is a domestic economic policy, based on the right of any and every country to determine the conditions under which foreigners may enter its limits. While, on the surface, it may seem to be somewhat of a local issue it is really a political and national issue, which, with the question of non-naturalization of Asiatics is

fraught with complications. It is at bottom a question of not lowering the standard of living and not one of race. Japan for instance, excludes Chinese and Korean labor on the ground that it lowers the standard of living in Japan. Surely this works both ways, or should.

Policy No. 4. "The Open Door in China." The "Monroe Doctrine" opposes "special spheres of influence" in the Western Hemisphere because the economic exploitation of backward countries is a fruitful source of war. The open door makes for universal peace by giving to the world access to the raw materials they need. The Japanese "Monroe Doctrine" as to Eastern Asia is emerging from the after results of the war, and in so far as it means the open door in China it coincides with the sentiments of the American people. If a Hague Conference of all the powers should agree to the principle of equal trade opportunities in all territories of subject peoples it would not be necessary to preach disarmament or limitation of armaments for much of the necessity of armament would disappear. Japan is quite justified in a "Monroe Doctrine" which opposes

the creation of further naval stations and bases in Asiatic Waters.

Policy No. 5. "The Independence of the Philippines." This is merely an announced policy of the United States Government. How far we may be able to realize it depends not only on the Philippines themselves but on international political opinion and the safety of the Philippines from being seized by other governments. Professor Hart writes: "The Monroe Doctrine is defensive; the Open Door in China is commercial; the Exclusion of Asiatics is racial and the Integrity of the Philippines is moral."

To properly understand the policy of our government in this respect it is necessary to realize the ardor with which we stand for local self government. We much prefer to have Cuba govern itself than to have to govern it. We have had military intervention in Cuba only when necessary to re-establish stable government. If we withdraw from the Philippines we might have to accept the right to again intervene in case of political chaos. We hold that the best way to learn to swim is to fall

overboard. The United States merely nursed Cuba and is nursing the Philippines through the teething period and we are teaching them to swim with a string on them to keep them from sinking.

Policy No. 6. "The Defense of the Panama Canal." It is only a question of time when the present Panama Canal will become inadequate for the world's traffic. The United States has made preparations to build another canal through Nicaraugua and a treaty to this effect has been made with the Nicaraguan Government, which has ceded to the United States not only the sole right to build a canal but has given also Great and Little Corn Islands, near the Atlantic terminus of the canal, and has ceded a station on the Gulf of Fonseca, at the Pacific end. This latter concession is in abeyance pending further negotiations with Salvador and Honduras, which two governments are not satisfied with the arrangements made in the Gulf of Fonseca on which their territory also borders. The control of the Panama Canal Zone has passed to the United States, for whose real strategic benefit the canal was dug.

The purchase of the Danish West Indies by the United States was dictated by the policy which makes us sensitive to any geographical changes of ownership in the Caribbean Sea that might threaten our control of the approaches to the isthmian canals. As these islands were for sale the United States acquired them rather than they should go to any other government. The whole question of the control of the Caribbean Sea is a powder magazine, which a spark may start off, and the provision of an efficient national "fire department" was one of the causes of the recently suspended U. S. Naval building programme.

Policy No. 7. "The Freedom of the Seas." Historically we have always stood for the freedom of the seas, although its meaning became very ambiguous during the war. By freedom of the seas we mean: (1) "Free ships, free goods;" (2) "Exemption of private property from capture at sea;" (3) "Safety of non-combatants and neutrals on the High Seas;" and (4) Opposition to any claim of belligerents to in any way control waters beyond the three mile limit. The United States has always stood

for the free use by all mankind equally and irrespectively of the highways of commerce and international communication.

Policy No. 8. "The Apology of Limited Sovereignty." As the treaty making power is shared by the President of the United States with the Senate, and as our government has always admitted its inability to compel any individual State to abide by any treaty, it results that a treaty "as the law of the land" may be actually set aside by any State at will. We may make a treaty guaranteeing rights to foreign citizens which any State may deny. If foreign citizens are murdered through the powerlessness of local governments, the general government must pay the damages, and do all the apologizing. We are thus automatically reduced to a continual attitude of apology. Some day some country may refuse to accept this apology, or we may get tired of doing it ourselves. As a policy it portends danger of getting us into difficulties with other governments and is therefore to be reckoned with as a lack of policy.

Policy No. 9. "The Question of the Pacific." The policy of the United States in the Pacific is negative, as we have merely opposed the game of grab and we have even announced our policy of eventually withdrawing from the Philippines. However, all of our insular possessions in the Pacific impose on us the policy of taking them back if anyone takes them away from us. Morever they exist; they can not be sunk; and, if we fail to make use of them, geography will turn them against us just as it turned them away from others to us, viz; because others failed to adequately defend them. Our coast line now theoretically extends out to Guam, whether or not we give up the Philippines. The Washington Conference was a direct outcome of this policy, and of this question.

There are other policies of the American government, but those enumerated should prove enough to indicate our responsibilities.*

* Domestic policies may easily become international. The Italian Ambassador at Washington recently asserted his right to regard our proposed tariff law as an international question. Prohibition applied to foreign merchant ships in our waters may easily cause international complications.

Foreign Policies of Great Britain

Geographic position has given certain fundamental policies to Great Britain. One which has resulted from the well founded fear of invasion is:

Policy No. 1. "The Integrity of the Low Countries." Ever since Normandy went back to France in 1204, Great Britain has been sensitive as to the status of Belgium, Flanders and Holland as effecting her own safety from invasion, and this has drawn England into continental politics with the fixed policy of opposing the dominance, for the time being, of any one power on the continent, the principal idea of the policy being to keep weak powers in possession of the Low Countries.

This policy is shown by the following historic facts: (1) Queen Elizabeth's aid to the revolt in the Netherlands against the crushing power of Philip II of Spain led to the sending of the Spanish Armada against England in 1588, and its defeat founded the supremacy of England on the sea and restored Holland. (2) In the War of the Spanish Succession, Marlborough

made his fame in the battles which England waged against Louis XIV to keep France out of the Netherlands. (3) In 1793, and again in 1803, England fought France to compel the French evacuation of the Low Countries. (4) In 1813 Belgium was, through British pressure, annexed to Holland as a safe-guard. (5) Belgium became an independent State in 1830, and, in 1868, when Napoleon III endeavored to acquire possession of the railway system of Belgium, the British Foreign Office blocked it. (6) In 1870, and before and during The World War, England worked incessantly to conserve Belgium as a "buffer State." (7) In August 1914 Great Britain declared war on Germany when she invaded Belgium.

Policy No. 2. "The Balance of Power." For the reasons given above England has, therefore, from time to time shifted her alliance on the continent of Europe, and, by loans of money and by war itself, has successfully fought the various continental powers of Europe and maintained the "Balance of Power" by opposing the dominant military power on the continent for the time being.

Policy No. 3. "Sea Supremacy." There were two additional factors in the fear of invasion which dictated, for instance, the former "two power standard" as representing the proper strength of the British Navy. These were: (1) Food supply, through sea trade, and (2) The integrity of the Overseas Dominions. The sea power of Great Britain is all important as a guarantee of national safety and the world so recognizes it.

Policy No. 4. "The Safety of the Route to India." The events of history which cluster around the necessary and consistent policy of safeguarding the route to India are too numerous and too obvious to need amplification.

The history of the world bears on its pages the records of other policies of Great Britain which have from time to time come in conflict with those of other nations but, in passing, there are two outstanding facts of recent history in connection with the policies of Germany and France which will be interesting to consider.

It is well known that the keynote of Bismark's foreign policy was an understanding with

Russia and a firm opposition to the acquisition of colonies by Germany. It is a curious fact that, after the war of 1870, France, recognizing this, began to acquire colonies and has, indeed, succeeded in building up a colonial empire second only to that of Great Britain. The Germany Emperor, William II, became very restless under this policy of Bismark and the growing colonial power of France. On the dismissal of Bismark, Germany tardily set for herself the task of winning from Spain her colonies but she was baulked in this by their unpremeditated acquisition by the United States through the war with Spain. France, on the contrary, pursued the policy of an understanding with Russia, and, in reversing the policy of Bismark, France won and Germany lost. The outstanding policy of France today is her safety from a repetition of the horrors of the invasions of 1870 and 1914 through guarantees of other powers. This for the moment overshadows all of the other policies of France except that she is consistently building up and consolidating her colonial empire under the inspiration originally of the

great Gallieni and the leadership of that most successful of all colonizers, Marshal Lyautey.

Summary

Policy, in its ultimate conception, is the well developed instinct of self preservation exhibited by a State in the precautions taken by it for its prosperity and continued national existence. To say that wars are caused by the conflicting policies of nations is to merely utter a truism. That greed is the main-spring of most of the bad policies is left to you to judge. The acquisition of colonial empires has paid little heed to the rights of the inhabitants of undeveloped countries. The United States can easily claim that it has at least purchased most of the territory into which it has expanded but it has not virtuously questioned the title of those from whom it has purchased the territory. Among the wonderful purchases which the United States has made has been that of Louisiana from France, by which she acquired the rich valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Through the treaty with Spain in 1819 she acquired Florida. Through

the Oregon Boundary Treaty and the Mexican War she acquired Texas and the northern third of Mexico, including the states of California, Oregon and Washington on the Pacific Coast. By the Gadsden Purchase she rounded out her southern boundary. In 1867 she bought Alaska from Russia for seven million dollars. Through the Spanish American War in 1898 she acquired Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines, for which she paid Spain ten million dollars. The Hawaiian Islands were annexed in the same year by treaty. The greatest mistake the United States has ever made in its history was in not purchasing the Caroline, Marshall and Mariana Islands from Spain in 1899, for they will ever remain one of the most thorny questions in the Pacific.

Digression

Before proceeding to the discussion "Forms of Government" it will be interesting to interpolate from the London "Times" some remarks made by the Dean of St. Pauls, at King's College, London, on November 17, 1920, on the subject of "The Modern Apotheosis of State

and Nation." Dean Inge took the ground that there was nothing particularly sacred about the State, which so far as it was identified with the Government, might be the least respectable of the social organizations to which an Englishman belonged. To the unprejudiced observer, so far as displaying superior wisdom or morality, international relations seemed to exhibit the most dismal failure of common sense and common decency to be found anywhere. On the whole, the larger the group the worse it behaves. Of all the aggregates, States were the most shameless when they acted as States and to worship the State was to worship a demon who had not even the redeeming quality of being intelligent.

This extreme point of view would seem to indicate that even forms of government as well as national policies need to be carefully examined.

CHAPTER IV

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Individualism

THE national spirit intends that each country shall develop independently and along its own lines. The imperialistic spirit seeks to combine the mutual development of many different groups, thus tending to impare the nationalism of each member of the group. Usually one state stands out as the leader in such imperialistic policy, as Prussia did in Germany, and England does in the British Empire. The opposite tendency is internationalism.

Also in the mutual relations of individuals in a state, and in their relation to the state itself, there are two opposing ideals, individualism and socialism. As one writer puts it, "To the individualist the less organization there is the better, for the truly free man does not require to be forced to do his duty. In individualism

we have the reflection of the English tradition. . . . . The socialist, on the other hand, desires more organization, for the majority of men depend on institutions and not on continual personal judgments as to what is best to do. In this form of socialism we have the reflection of the German tradition."

Individualism desires that public authority and public life be organized in such a way that they shall be distinctly subordinate to private and individual independence and that executive authority in the state shall owe as much allegiance to the people as the people do to it. It is such ideas that are opposed to military conscription. On the other hand, socialism takes the view of compulsory partnership, in which the independence of each party is swallowed up in the authority of the state. Brook Adams says: "This individualism is a perversion of, and a falling away from true democratic ideas, the individual setting his personal interest above the welfare and security of the state." Actually no nation can survive which fails to recognize the individual's obligation to the state as his primary duty, and the state, and not the indi-

vidual, must be the judge of the form its obligation shall take — when, where and how.

Every tendency in the world today is towards democracy in which there is *absolute equality before the law.* The fundamental difference between the French Revolution and the English Revolution, under Cromwell, was that the former destroyed the exemptions claimed by the nobility and clergy and put the state in impartial supremacy over all classes, whereas the latter reduced the power of the state, "not for the advantage of any class, but for individual liberty and local self government." In the United States, we inherited both of these traditions, and embodied them in our own constitution, but individual liberty and local self government are too often taken to mean freedom from obligations in national questions. These two corruptions of "liberty" and "states rights" are dealt with very vigorously in the writings of General George Washington, and General Emory Upton of the United States Army.

On September 24, 1776, Washington wrote to the President of Congress:

> "A soldier reasoned with upon the goodness of the cause he is engaged in and the inestimable rights he is contending for, hears you with patience and acknowledges the truth of your observations, but adds that it is of no more importance to him than to others. The officer makes you the same reply, with the further remark that his pay will not support him, and he can ruin himself and family to save his country, where every member of the community is equally interested and benefited by his labors. The few, therefore, who act upon principles of disinterestedness, comparatively speaking, are no more than a drop in the ocean."

It took the Civil War to open the eyes of the entire country, and of the world, to the real meaning of "states rights," as shown by General Upton in his book on "Military Policy." He points out that the North, opposed to states' rights, sought to save the Union by organizing itself as a confederacy of states, whereas the Confederates, who revolted to uphold states' rights, sought to destroy the Union by fighting as a nation and entirely ignoring "states' rights." The North recognized the sovereignty of each state, appealed to them for troops, adhered to voluntary enlistments, gave each gov-

ernor the power to appoint all commissioned officers and encouraged them to organize new regiments. The Confederages abandoned state sovereignty; ignored the states; took away from them the power to appoint commissioned officers; and vested their appointments in the Confederate president; refused to recognize war regiments; abandoned voluntary enlistments; and, by adopting the national principle that every citizen owes military service to his country, called into its army every white man between the ages of 18 and 35. No more complete reversal of "states' rights" could be possible.

Internationalism, Bolshevism, Radical Socialism, Pacifism, Trades Unionism, Judeaism, Jesuitism, Hyphenism, Individualism, and all the other ancient and modern *isms* fundamentally weaken the obligation of the individual to the state while demanding extreme liberty, or, in other words, demanding something for nothing. This is really pauperism. Governments are merely the way human beings group themselves for co-operation, for there must be co-operation and social cohesion in human society. *The age of individualism has now definitely*

passed. Liberty implies obligation. Government implies obligation. Society implies obligation. Liberty is not the apotheosis of selfish individualism. The highest obligation is national safety and national defense.

Constitutional Government

We have considered briefly the relation of the individual citizen to the government and some of the problems of government itself as affecting other governments by its policies and acts. Under any form, a government which informs itself through spies, makes secret treaties, and seeks to get its end by covert means does not conform to the "World's spirit," and takes its chances, just as an individual does who rides foul, for, if the "League of Nations," or the "Washington Conference," or "Hague Conferences" mean anything, they mean putting a stop to dangerous national greed. Modern civilization theoretically requires the consent of the governed in vital questions in both internal and external policy, and any country which denies such participation of its citizens is certainly not a good neighbor.

In considering forms of government it is not necessary to go back beyond the history of constitutional government. Although still in the experimental stage, the "World's spirit" demands the constitutional form of government, while recognizing that there is, necessarily, no more sacredness in it than there is in the "divine rights of kings." This is more than a mere fashion; it is a safety precaution.

The powers of the British Government rest in an unwritten constitution, which is, however, based on the Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights, the Bill of Rights, and other important statutes. The existing system of government in Great Britain really dates back only to the Reform Bill in 1832. The unwritten constitution is made up of customary arrangements and observances, which are so well established as to seem almost unchangeable, but actually there is no difference between constitutional law and all other laws, since Parliament may change, at will, any and all laws at any time. The constitution really consists of the Acts of Parliament, although no Parliament would change established custom without careful debate, and

without reference to the people in a general election. It is, therefore, as difficult to change the British Constitution as it is to change our own.

America was the birthplace of written constitutions, and the Constitution of the United States is the oldest written one in the world today, as it dates back to 1787; while that of Italy dates from 1848; of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1870; the German Empire from 1871 and 1919; France from 1875; and Japan from 1889. Constitutional government in its essence is merely a proposed plan of government by law, instead of by an individual or clique, and thus not necessarily discloses the actual workings of the government, because in growing or expanding countries the government is apt to find itself hampered by constitutional restrictions, like a suit of clothes which it is always outgrowing, and the tendency is always towards modifying the rules of the game to suit new conditions, if not to override the constitution itself. In most governments there lurks a *centralized* power which silently directs government action. It is therefore important to

study the methods by which modifications or changes in a constitution may be brought about as indicating how deeply a "joker" is in some way or another intrenched.

Federations or Unions

Nearly all modern states are federations or unions of smaller ones, which a common danger or political exigency have united. There are, however, all degrees of union. Speaking only of the so-called Great Powers of the World, we find in Italy and France a complete consolidation of former independent countries without federation. In view of the wars and rivalries of the separate states and provinces comprised in modern Italy and France, this is surprising. In the United States and Germany we find a federalization of separate and sovereign states, which in the former caused five years of civil war through imperfect federalization, just as in Germany where the individual states have enjoyed too much independence. This arose in Germany through states having had independent and separate existence, as kingdoms, before they united in 1871 in the German Empire. In

the United States there is something almost childlike and simple in the way state sovereignty springs full blown in a new community, which emerges from its early settler swaddling clothes of minority as a territory into a great and glorious independent state, with one congressman and two United States senators. This is local self-government carried to an illogical conclusion, but it has the distinct merit of giving every community the government it deserves by local self-government. This whole system grew up from pioneer days, where territories were really the colonies of certain states, and thus grown up it is difficult to change it. One must have, however, a certain sense of humor to really enjoy seeing a state with only one Congressman have two important Senators in a representative government, while Italy and France have lost all traces of historic kingdoms.

The kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is a very imperfect or loose union, in which Scotland and Wales enjoy wide liberties and Ireland which, for years, has sought independence has been offered what amounts to federation. Japan has no existing traces of federalization.

The tendency of federal government is always to extend the powers of the central government at the expense of the component states, and it is a curious fact that federalization is really not necessary to an efficient government, provided the central government has the right to delegate authority to, or frame the form of government of, the various states or provinces. In the new German constitution there are rules for altering the Empire territorially, providing the plebiscites shall be held in districts affected. This is a clever blow or entering wedge to lessen the power of the individual states, coupled as it is with the provision that imperial law supersedes those of the individual states through this provision. The demand made in 1919 by the Allied powers that the new German constitution be modified was intended to prevent German-Austria from entering the German Empire. Evidently they regarded this new provision as to territorial changes as a direct invitation to Austria to enter the German Empire. Under the terms of the new constitution, the former Bundesrath becomes the Imperial Council composed of rep-

resentatives of the individual States, which will have at least one vote apiece, but no state can have more than two-fifths of the total number of votes in the Council. The Imperial Council has much less authority than the former Bundesrath, and, while far from being a Senate or second legislative body, its share in the control of the budget gives it the necessary vitality or virility, and does not let Prussia dominate.

Representative Government

In its ultimate analysis government through representatives of the people is government by discussion and reason. From the tribal council or town council, the next step is sending a representative to a larger council. The British Parliament is sometimes called the "Mother of Parliaments," because the Kings of England, in levying contributions and taxes, found it more convenient than travelling about to consult the leading men in various parts of the kingdom to have the nobility and people of the counties and boroughs send representatives up to London to make settlements. It took all the influence and authority of the different kings

to bring this about, as it was not so much a privilege as a convenience, but, as their powers developed, they gradually began to limit the power of the King himself. Two houses of Parliament were developed, one made up of the nobility, bishops and abbotts who were summoned through their rights, and the other of the delegates in the lower house, who were named by the communities. After the Puritan Revolution in the 17th century, Parliament established itself in complete power, but it remained representative of the landed classes until in the 19th century when the industrial classes gained the ascendency with the Reform Bill in 1832.

Pure democracy in theory requires the authority of the state to be constantly exercised by direct action of the entire people, while autocracy is the other extreme, but a representative government is less impulsive than either, as it implies debate and discussion. The original theory of representative government was far from democratic, as the qualifications of both property and education were insisted upon. Various abuses, through class distinctions

have led to the expansion of the suffrage, but universal suffrage is entirely unthinkable without universal education, as illiteracy and inexperience should certainly be a bar to participation in government. In modern times the extension of women's suffrage may be regarded as a foregone conclusion, introducing impulsive methods, which new means will have to be developed to stabilize. However right impulse may be, reason and cool judgment are the next best substitutes for experience, as distinguished from "intuition."

On the one hand a representative is not required to really represent the interests of his constituency alone, but he is in danger of failing of re-election if he does not especially favor his locality, and on the other hand, most of the discussion which takes place is not intended so much to influence the votes within sound of the voice of the speaker as it is to explain to the public a party policy. It is very rare that speeches are made which change many votes in any Parliament. Nevertheless public discussion is the palladium of liberties and *real democratic government depends on the fairness with*

which judgments are willing to be submitted to open discussion.

It must be clearly understood that representative government does not refer to the *right to vote, but more especially to the eligibility to hold office.* This will be made clear in what follows.

CHAPTER V

THE ELEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT

The Necessity For Definitions

IT IS regrettable that accuracy of thought, argument, and reason requires accuracy in definition. Apology is hereby made for this painful process. Like the "Seven Stages of the Cross" and the "Seven Ages of Man," there are seven elements of government which determine the form of government by the varying degree in which they enter into its make-up. One definition is considered necessary in addition before defining the seven classes, and that is:

The State is the supreme institution of political life, sovereign over all the people of the state, which is somewhat of an abstraction, but in effect *the sovereign power.* Louis XIV is reputed to have said "I am the State," and he was. The government of a state, while exer-

cising actual power, is merely the administrative machinery, as distinguished from the sovereign power. The sovereign power in any country is the power which may call to the bar of judgment any lesser power.

I. Autocratic or Democratic

The *monarchic, oligarchic* or *aristocratic* form of government is opposed to the *democratic,* in the extent to which a class participates in the headship of the government and is opposed to the eligibility of just any citizen to the headship. In some measure it refers to the outward form of government, as to pomp, ceremonial and class distinctions. For instance, as previously stated, the democracy of England exists very slightly in its outward form of government which is practically oligarchic, in that, in spite of being in appearance monarchic and aristocratic, the temporary headship is a cabinet clique. However, no matter how much real power the King of England may actually exercise in England itself, he is nevertheless Emperor of the British Empire, and the stability of the throne comes from expediency and

pressure from the Empire without, as well as from support within the kingdom. The distinction as to whether a government is really democratic or otherwise is one very easily made.

II. Hereditary or Elective

As to the tenure of persons holding office or mandate, the distinction is made between *hereditary* and *elective*. *Hereditary* is self-explanatory. *Elective* means chosen by the suffrage of enfranchised persons, whether or not the franchise is by universal suffrage or by the most restricted kind of suffrage, as in Japan. Elective need not necessarily imply democratic. In the degree in which a country is democratic, the governing group has to get the assent and support of large masses of the people. Where things are done which run counter to the inertia, bias and apparent interests of the masses, the elections which follow are apt to express the will of the people. Where, by political manipulation, the people are deprived of their right to express their will, we have the form but not the substance of democratic government. Where the right to vote is restricted abnormally, as

in Japan, it is merely a fiction to call the government really *elective*.

Where there is mixed *elective* and *hereditary* tenure, there results several forms of government which depend upon the degree of consolidation and co-ordination. In the monarchic form, the state is represented by a single person. Where there are also a number of persons holding hereditary mandate or tenure of office, it becomes also an *aristocratic* government, such as Japan. Premier Hara was the first commoner to be Prime Minister. When the state throws wide open the eligibility of persons to have membership, voice and vote in the governing body, it is democratic. Thus England is monarchic through its King who has no real political power, aristocratic through its House of Lords which has a variable political power; and is supposedly democratic through having a House of Commons elected through restricted suffrage, but the "joker" in the British government, as previously stated, is that it is in effect an oligarchy or "clique" government and its democracy is more or less a figure of speech, since all the democracy is in

the local self-governed boroughs and not in the government. This is merely a personal and unimportant view, and not necessarily the accepted one.

III. Immediate or Representative

In the first place, we speak always of *representative* government. The opposite of this is *immediate.*

In the *immediate* form of government, which may be monarchic, aristocratic, or even democratic, the state exercises directly the functions of government. It is, therefore, unlimited in form, and may be as despotic as it wishes, as the state and the government are practically identical. Strange to say this is, in effect, the actual form of the British Government which is *immediate.*

Representative government is that form in which the state vests the power of Government in one or more organizations more or less distinct from its own organizations. It too may be unlimited or limited according as all or only a few of the population of the State are made eligible to hold office or mandate. This is some-

thing different from the right to vote, which is also restricted in most countries. In other words, the word "representative" implies the degree of eligibility to hold office or be "represented" in the government rather than merely the right to vote.

IV. Unlimited or Limited

It will be noted that there is a fundamental distinction, scientifically speaking, between the state and the government of a State. In ordinary conversation no such distinction is usually made. It is sufficiently accurate for our purpose to say the state is somewhat of an abstraction but represents the sovereign power, and the government is the administrative machinery.

If the state vests its whole power in the government, the form of government may be said to be *unlimited.* The British form is unlimited. If, on the other hand, the state confers upon the Government less than its whole power, less than practical sovereignty, either by enumerating the powers of the government, or by defining and safe-guarding individual liberty against this delegated power, the government

is *limited.* It does not imply that an unlimited form of government is a despotism, nor that the limited form of government may not actually be twisted into despotism. It is merely a distinction as to the general tendencies, as all governments are now constitutional in form and no despotism should be really possible.

V. Centralized or Federal

Next we come to the manner in which the governmental power is either centralized or distributed, or in other words, whether it is the *centralized* or the *federal* system of government.

Centralized government is that form in which the state vests all government authority in a single organization, and there are no independent local governments or quasi states in which local governments may be established, modified or displaced at will by the central government. (Great Britain is of this type and it is important to note that a government may be centralized in form but not immediate or unlimited. It equally may be immediate and limited and not centralized).

Federal government, in counter-distinction

to centralized, is the form in which the state distributes the power of government between two classes of organizations as fixed in a constitution limiting the powers of each. This is the confederate and federal form of government in which sovereign states retain a certain measure of local self-government and independence in local matters, but are under a strong central national government in all essentially national matters. The confederate form is the transient one where sovereign states unite, as in Germany in 1870, leading gradually, as in the United States and in the new German constitution, to federation and gradual centralization of power in a central government, while retaining a measure of local independence of the units.

In most written constitutions the powers of the central government, or of the ruler, and of the individual states, are enumerated, and the powers not enumerated are reserved for the other branches of the government. In such cases it is necessary to have some form of high court to determine whether laws enacted by the central government or by the states are in

conformity with the constitution, in case of dispute as to the validity of any law. Experience has shown, in the United States, that the central government has not had enough power and that federalization has not worked well for national safety, because of the too strong local self-government. There have also been constant appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States and the higher courts of the States. In other words, modern ideas are somewhat against federalization and a too minute enumeration of the powers of either the central government or the separate states. The South African Union Act of 1907 is an excellent example of written constitutional government, in that it abandons, or rather avoids, the difficulties of federal government by not enumerating the powers of either the separate states or the central government, but places all power in the Union Parliament which is permitted to delegate power in part to any of the states of the union. The Union Parliament may at any time prescribe the laws for any one of the separate states, if it is not satisfied with those which the state itself is being governed under. It, to a large degree,

copies what the British Government has practically become under the working out of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the subsequent Acts of Parliament carrying out the electoral reforms, which reforms were really only superficial. They merely lowered the property qualifications, gave democratic local self-government to boroughs, parishes, and counties, but, with it all, Parliament dominates the local governments and may sweep them away with a single act. *The democracy of England is in its assertive individualism and exists very slightly in its government.* As will be seen later, there are almost no points of resemblance between the forms of government of Great Britain and the United States of America.

VI. Consolidated or Co-ordinated

There is a further and finer distinction as to the distribution of governmental power in the central government or state itself, viz., *consolidated* or *co-ordinated.* In the *consolidated* form of government the state confides all governmental power to a single body. (In England practically all authority is vested in Parliament,

which implies that the House of Lords is a part of Parliament. Everyone knows, however, that the House of Commons really governs Great Britain, and the British Government is therefore consolidated in form).

In the *co-ordinated* form of government, the state distributes the powers of government between separate departments or bodies, each equal, independent of, but co-ordinated with, the other or others. The United States is the best example of this, where there is check and balance between co-ordinate branches of the government.

VII. Presidential or Cabinet

In constitutional government two distinct types of relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government have been developed.

The English Cabinet System is one type and the American Presidential System is the other. In the *presidential* form the Constitution regards the executive head of the government as an individual quite independent of the legislature or parliament, both in tenure of office and

in prerogatives, and furnishes him with sufficient power to prevent the legislative body from encroaching. It is conservative and fixes the responsibility upon a single person. It is energetic because not subject to divided council. It is powerful in that a single capable person is not unduly limited by division of council and difference of views, and his decisions must be obeyed.

The *presidential* form resulted from the effort in America to do away with royalty and to create a head of the state who should have sufficient power for purposes of government, but not for establishing a *permanent* personal regime. As a matter of fact the limit primarily fixed on the President by the term of four years is one of the few limits there is to the authority of the President in executive matters. This execution of laws is a very great power in the hands of one official, and the aggregate of many acts of Congress results in a wide exercise of power even in the smallest matters. The President, therefore, has more natural authority than any existing monarch, except the Emperor of Japan. While important

appointments and all treaties have to be ratified by the Senate, and war can only be declared by Congress itself, nevertheless, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, head of the diplomatic relations of the country, and having direct control of the heads of all administrative departments of the government, the President wields an enormous power.

The American Cabinet, however, is not a committee of Congress and has only indirect relations with it. There is, in fact, no constitutional authority for cabinet officers, as they, and their departments, have been created entirely by acts of Congress. Being appointed by the President they are responsible only to him, and, while cabinet meetings are held for purposes of consultation on policies affecting the various departments, the decision of the President alone controls their acts. (There is a strong movement to give them seats but no vote in Congress, as in Argentina).

Since cabinet officers have been created by Congress and their appointments have to be confirmed by the Senate, it results that many senators claim official precedence over cabinet

officers at the dinner table and at official functions. However, Senators claim "precedence" over anyone whose appointment has to be confirmed by them. On the other hand the members of the House of Lords get a lot of precedence at the dinner table but little in the government.

In a legislative way the Speaker of the House of Representatives is both a party leader and the presiding officer and strongly influences the course of legislative business through appointments of committees and through actual control of debate. Legislation is referred to the numerous committees and each committee deals with some definite subject matter. The connection between Congress and the President exists largely through the various committees, as the heads of the executive departments appear before them and give them information and, at times, the President himself appears before Congress in person to address them. The President can introduce measures in Congress only through getting a member to introduce and a committee to support them. Nevertheless, owing to the complexity of public business,

legislation in many cases can only be effectively drawn up by administrative department heads who have knowledge of the subject, and many measures which are introduced into the House are thus prepared in the Departments themselves.

While the American system may not produce results in legislation equal to that of the British Parliament, it can be worked with less political experience and corresponds more closely to the average political sense of the country, because it has to establish an adjustment between many local interests. While it is cumbersome it is much safer than where political action is taken without due regard to the complicated local interests. The American system is not however so effective in foreign relations.

In the *cabinet* or *parliamentary* form, the state confers upon the legislature the complete control of the administration of law. The cabinet of ministers is responsible for the *execution* of the laws, that is, represents the sovereign in the exercise of executive power. The cabinet is dependent upon the will of the legislative body, and an adverse vote puts the members

out of office. This constitutes the "check and balance." As there are, in most countries, two independent legislative bodies to give validity to any act, the control of the administration or execution of the act naturally gravitates to that house, which, by custom or the constitution, has the greatest power over the revenues of the government. The cabinet form of government in effect destroys practically the independence of one of the two houses of the legislative bodies. It makes legislation easy, but it is inconsistent with a definite policy, although it requires the members of the legislative body to have full information upon all subjects concerning which it must act, through the presence and voice of the heads of the administration in the legislative body. In our Congress this information goes to committees, and we thus have legislation by committees, as members of the House and Senate usually vote on the strength of reports made by their own different committees. The English Cabinet system is one of long historical evolution by a gradual instinctive process which works as follows: The government is a committee of parliament composed

of cabinet ministers selected entirely from parties of either the House of Commons or the House of Lords, and continues in power as long as it controls the majority in the House of Commons. When the government feels that it is not able to command the necessary majority it generally resorts to having the House of Commons dissolved and an appeal made to the country, because no matter how many parties there are actually in the House of Commons there are really only two parties to be considered, the Government party and the party of the Opposition. The elections are held on different dates, thus making it possible for a candidate who has been defeated in one locality to be returned from some other locality. This is also important because it enables property holders to vote in more than one locality in the same election. It also enables the important political leaders in parliament to be elected somehow and somewhere. The English Cabinet system produces complete co-operation between the executive and legislative branches of the government, because the government introduces all important legislations and assumes full

responsibility for them. Legislation is therefore very carefully considered in England. In the matter of financial legislation the government introduces a carefully balanced budget which must have the consent of the Cabinet before being introduced, insuring correspondence between the budget estimates and the revenues of the country.*

Parliament thus becomes a training school for statesmen, and a man wins his way to power through a long course of experience in both legislative and administrative capacities. Beginners who show great promise are given positions as under-secretaries and ministers, which also serves as excellent training. By the time a man arrives in a position of leadership he has for years run the gauntlet of the opposition and its criticisms, thereby producing excellent qualities, which are needed where national policies not only require support in par-

* "Parliamentary government does not produce long views; sufficient to the day is the majority thereof. An English Cabinet can generally make up its mind pretty quickly what it will do today; it does not trouble much about what will happen tomorrow and will quickly forget what it did yesterday until reminded of its inconsistency by the opposition or some foreign country; but, the charge, even if proved, will not cause much concern, for there is no quality to which we pay so little regard as to the superficial appearance of consistency." From London Times, June 8, 1922, in an editorial on "British Foreign Policy."

liament, but in the electorate of the whole country. In countries where an appeal is taken to the whole country, as in our system, however, a good deal of the debate in parliament is addressed over its head directly to constituencies.

However, the government in Great Britain is a party clique or oligarchy existing primarily for party ends; party discipline is very strong, and parties do not like to risk unseating themselves by a new election. The Cabinet usually consists of twenty-two or more members who are administrative heads of departments and occupy seats in Parliament. Their time is taken up with their duties in the Departments so that they do not always closely follow the general sessions of the Cabinet, as the governing committee of the empire. It thus results that the Prime Minister, Foreign Office Minister, and a few others are an oligarchy which exercises the real power, but at any rate, no money-bill can be offered to the Commons without the approval of the Cabinet as a body. There are on the average thirty other ministers and thirty-six junior ministers. There are permanent under-

secretaries of civil service origin in all Departments, which have temporary political heads, which guarantees the question of permanency and stability of the bureaucratic administration. The sixty-six ministers of various kinds who go out of office with the change of party at election have an average salary of £2,700 each. Several positions carry with them a house, furniture, horses and carriages, heating, lighting, servants, etc. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland gets £20,000 per annum; the Attorney General £7,000; Solicitor General £6,000; Lord High Chancellor £10,000 per annum, and when his party goes out of office he may retire for life on a pension of £5,000 per annum. In general the pay is such as to make it well worth while for a statesman to follow a political career to advantage, but it also makes ministries careful not to unseat themselves by too ardent support of unpopular measures.

The Cabinet form has been adopted in France, Italy, Chile and many other countries, whereas the presidential form is in vogue in Japan, Germany and in all the American countries except Chile and Canada.

In general, cabinet or parliamentary form of government is weakening to continuity of policy. New ministries which are formed are commonly the result of the coalition of small political groups which are not long held together.

France in the last fifteen years has had twelve ministries, and Spain many more. The two-party idea in Great Britain is what saves it from frequent changes, for the opposition party will not overturn the ministry until it is willing and able to take over the administration with a definite policy. In connection with our own government, it is again important to note that cabinet government is inconsistent with the existence of two legislative bodies of equal power, such as our House and Senate. The power of the United States Senate, through the provision of the Constitution whereby each separate State is represented by two Senators, makes it impossible for the House to dominate the Senate and the control of legislation really rests with the Senate more than with the House, which makes for continuity and conservatism.

The two-party system in America also makes

for stability because, where there are small minorities which can hold the balance of power between the two parties by throwing its weight with one party or the other, yet it can only defeat certain legislation but can not overturn the government. We may, in fact, regard ourselves as extremely fortunate that we do not have the cabinet form of government, provided we reform certain weaknesses in the presidential form. In the United States the principle of the separation of powers was believed to make it impossible for the Executive either formally to initiate legislation by introducing bills into Congress, or to participate either personally or by deputy in congressional debates, and even his veto can be overcome by a two-thirds vote.

Recent tendencies in the United States would, however, seem to show that the American system is changing and is coming to resemble more and more the "Imperial System." The Executive is growing more and more important and is exercising more and more influence, if not control, over the making of laws and the adoption of policies. This may or may not constitute

a "joker" but little important legislation is now adopted by the United States Congress which does not have the support of whoever is President. What is true of the United States national government is also in a measure true of the state governments. State governors are more and more influencing state legislation and state policy. Finally, our Presidents use their power to send messages to Congress as a means of forming or influencing public opinion. He also takes advantage of the opportunity to speak on important occasions such as large public dinners, the anniversaries of important public events and to tour the country to propose and support new policies. President Roosevelt is reported to have said that the President of the United States occupies the most influential pulpit in the world, but hardly more so than the Prime Ministers of the leading Powers, for after all the President is his own Prime Minister.

In all those ways, then, a President may exercise an influence, if not a control, over the members of Congress. Where a President's policies are approved by the people, it is not infrequently

the case that showers of telegrams and letters descend upon members of Congress from those they represent, and do much to induce them to support the proposals of the President.

In making the choice between presidential and cabinet or parliamentary government the opportunities under the former, through lack of harmony causing conflict to develop between the executive and the legislature, must be offset by the inefficiency and lack of continuity of policy which may be expected to develop under the latter in those countries in which it is impossible to organize two strong political parties, upon one of which the cabinet may with confidence rely for support.

We see in several countries, notably Portugal, Spain and Italy, which have adopted the cabinet system, a rather chaotic condition in organizing a government which can command a majority. One of the difficulties of the presidential system is that, where the political party to which the President belongs is not in control of either the House or the Senate, clashes are apt to arise which makes the presidential system *seem* to be undesirable. It is a curious fact

that in all of the troubles between the various Presidents and Congress (more especially the Senate), where the former has toured the country and tried to compel the Senate to change its views in a matter in which they have opposed the President, the latter has always failed to secure the popular approval to make the Senate reverse its policy. This is an historical fact of considerable significance. On the other hand Congress has always seemed willing to increase the powers of the President by special legislation, and disagreements usually result from his dual character as President and also party leader.

One of the dangers of the cabinet system to which the presidential system is not exposed is the establishment of a vicious circle of professional cabinet ministers who, while apparently opposed to each other in political principles, really take their turn in holding office, so that when one cabinet is overthrown the other comes in with a more or less working agreement with that which has just been ousted. An agreement of this kind usually entails the keeping in

office of each other's relatives and friends. It was some such professional ministry in Portugal, under the monarchy, which led to the revolution, and there are some modifications of the system in other countries.

CHAPTER VI

METHOD OF TESTING FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Applying the Test

HAVING gotten through the chapter on definitions it is interesting to note that, by placing the seven different classes of elements which enter into the form of government in separate and opposite columns, we may make a superficial analysis of the form of government of any country whereby we may tell at a glance its character. We, furthermore, may put in the left hand column all the older elements, and, in the right hand column, the newer elements of government towards which all modern governments are tending. In the middle column we may note the compromise between the two extremes. Some surprising results will be obtained by this method, but it is important to study the question of form

of government also in connection with the foreign policies of each government.

The following is the formula which may be regarded as a summary of the definitions previously given.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

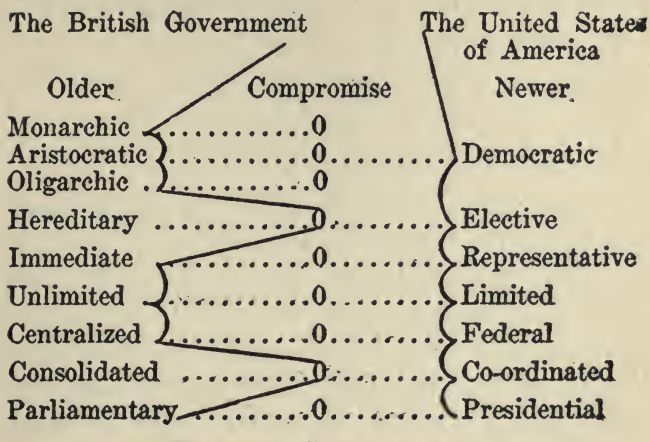
Older Forms	Compromise	Newer Forms
Monarchic	0	
Aristocratic	0	Democratic
Oligarchic	0	
Hereditary	0	Elective
Immediate	0	Representative
Unlimited	0	Limited
Centralized	0	Federal
Consolidated	0	Co-ordinated
Parliamentary	0	Presidential

We have considered some of the foreign policies of Great Britain and we may, therefore, as an example, test its form of government.

CHAPTER VII

FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

IN CONSIDERING the form of government of Great Britain, it is interesting to reproduce along side of it an analysis of the American form of government in order to illustrate how, curiously enough, the two governments stand literally at the two extremes of constitutional government. If it may seem that the advantage is in favor of the United States then it must be obvious that it must have either safely crossed many political bridges which other governments must later cross, or else the ideas here advanced as to newer and older forms are very misleading. After all, the form of government is not so important as the reality. Efficiency in administration and individual responsibility are more important than mere *form* inherited from the past.



ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

While it may be more accurate to speak of the British Government than to call it the English Government, still it developed in England and is essentially English. The state and the government in England are identical, and it is Parliament. As there can be no such thing as an unconstitutional Act of Parliament the English Government is *immediate* and *unlimited.* No judge can pronounce its acts unconstitutional and the liberty of the individual is completely at the mercy of Parliament.

While it is true that the Crown has an

absolute veto power this power has not been used since 1707. It is true also that the Crown can create members of the House of Lords, but this power is really exercised by the Cabinet. Since 1880, 289 peers have been created and there are over 700 members now of the House of Lords, or more lords than commoners.* Moreover the Crown can promulgate orders having all the effect of law, provided they infringe no Act of Parliament. For all this the English Government is utterly despotic in theory, however liberal it may be in practice.

There is no *federalization* in the British Empire. England rules it. There is no local government which the central government cannot legally modify, change, or even destroy. The government is therefore *centralized.* If we choose to regard the King as Chief Executive and the Parliament as the legislative branch we may say that the government is *co-ordinated.* It is safer to regard it as a compromise between *co-ordinated* and *consolidated.* It is really consolidated.

*There are (1921) 709 voting members of the House of Lords and 707 in the Commons.

The English Government is partly *hereditary* and partly *elective.* It is *parliamentary* government, and the House of Commons has complete control of the administration. It is *monarchic* and *aristocratic* in semblance, and only slightly democratic in reality.

To summarize: The English Government is *immediate, unlimited, centralized,* partly *consolidated,* and partly *co-ordinated,* partly *elective* and partly *hereditary, parliamentary, monarchic, aristocratic,* slightly *democratic* and in fact *oligarchic.*

Comments on the British Government

Unquestionably some changes are inevitable in the form of government of Great Britain in the direction of federalization which will give to the various units of the British Empire less apparent domination by England, because we have seen, as above, that all government is really lodged in the English parliament. The British Parliament has become too large and unwieldy to adequately handle questions of local government in England, Wales and Scotland,

and, at the same time, take a broad enough view of Indian and colonial matters. Some form of decentralization is inevitable in favor, on the one hand, of greater autonomy in self-government, or of greater imperial participation on the other. England must pay the price both of Empire and of the loyal participation of the colonies in the war by some form of federalization. As pointed out, our own trouble is too much federalization in treating new born states with all the pomp and dignity of state sovereignty after emergence from being mere territories, whereas England has not yet squarely faced the problem of colonial sovereignty and hence of federalization. With Ireland in the federation of dominions the Empire Council must become a real factor in the government.

As previously stated the British cabinet is made up of the chiefs of the party in power in Parliament, constituting themselves the most important committee in the House of Commons. While the right to introduce bills is inherent in membership in Parliament, yet the ministers

have the sole right to initiate legislation and frame bills. Nevertheless, members may, and do, introduce many private bills. While the cabinet consists of about twenty-two members who sit as a committee, they are also administrative heads of departments and do not always participate in the general sessions, which results that the Prime Minister, Foreign Office Minister, and one or two others really run the government. It is complained that the cabinet form of government does not lend itself to continuity of policy through the reversal of policy which takes place when a ministry is overthrown, but this is less true in the case of Great Britain than in other countries, as shown by the enumeration of the historic policies of Great Britain.

Form of Government of the United States

In applying the test to the United States Government we will find it adheres to all the newer form without compromise. *It is a democratic, elective, representative, limited, federal, co-ordinated, presidential form of government.*

FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Older Forms	Compromise	Newer Forms
Monarchic	0	
Aristocratic	0	Democratic
Oligarchic	0	
Hereditary	0	Elective
Immediate	0	Representative
Unlimited	0	Limited
Centralized	0	Federal
Consolidated	0	Co-ordinated
Parliamentary	0	Presidential

In the political system of the United States the state and the government are not identical. By comparison with that of the British Government it will be seen that, in general, the English Government and our own government stand at the two extremes of constitutional government, but it can be easily demonstrated that the British form of government is more efficient than our own through the failure in our form of government to definitely fix responsibility. Where it is roughtly stated that it is the duty of Congress to provide appropriations for, or do certain things and they are not done, Congress

and the Executive generally "pass the buck" to each other, and, often, if responsibility should be fixed upon a cabinet officer for not taking, or for opposing adequate steps, there is no way short of impeachment to punish him, since the President alone has the power of removal. There is no way to bring about a cabinet crisis in the United States. Japan has the presidential form, and yet, often, with a cabinet in full control of the majority in the Diet, a cabinet crisis can be brought on which calls for the resignation of the entire cabinet, or some member therein, who has, in the opinion of the country, failed to meet his responsibilities.

There are numerous examples of this in Japan. The War Department or Navy Department by refusing to name an army officer as Minister of War, or a naval officer as Minister of Marine, can bring about a cabinet crisis. By refusal of the Diet to vote on the budget a similar crisis may be caused. The Japanese paper "Yomiuri" of May 12, 1920, in its remarks on current political events even gives the inference that the House of Peers may cause a cabinet crisis, as follows:

> "If the House of Peers strongly opposes the Cabinet it will be difficult for the latter to hold its own, but at the present moment it is not likely that such an attitude will be taken by the Peers. * * * There is no other problem which the House of Peers should press at the cost of a change of Cabinet. * * * With regard to the diplomatic questions relating to China and Siberia, the Government will continue to pursue an opportunist policy under the plea of working harmoniously with the Powers. Whether the Government will take any initiative and how far it will restrain the activities of the militarists remains to be seen."

It is quite unique that, in America, there is no way to pin responsibility on a definite individual who can be held accountable for the trust imposed in him by having him removed from office, other than by impeachment. The Chief Executive may find himself in the middle of his term of four years with a political party in control of both houses of Congress utterly hostile to his own policies and to the policies of his cabinet, with the result of two years of wrangling. This exists in no other government. With elections held in November and a change of government made in March the situation

is not improved, since the country may itself have repudiated entirely the policies of the Chief Executive and his Cabinet, yet Congress has to go through a whole session on such a basis. It is thus clearly evident that the American system is not responsive to the popular will, as all other systems in the world are. It is unfortunate that, when the President and his Cabinet are not supported in a nation wide election necessary for the choice of a House of Representatives and one-third of the Senators, he and his cabinet have to drag out two years of hostile skirmishing with the opposition. It is also doubly unfortunate that, in the American form of government, the Chief Executive is also the leader of the political party which elected him. He is thus constantly acting in the dual capacity of the President of the whole United States, and as spokesman for his own political party.

Some Further Comments on the American Form of Government

In judging of whether the American form of government conforms to modern requirements

it may be said, in a general way, that the modern tendency is away from *aristocratic, hereditary, immediate* and *unlimited* government, but that the necessities of administrative efficiency and national safety tend clearly towards a centralized form of government, which is mildly despotic in military affairs and with responsibility definitely fixed through responsible and responsive representatives. People are becoming in America more impatient and more insistent that problems be met with solutions that bring tangible results, and what is really demanded is a business administration by business men accustomed to achieve results by business methods.

Local self-government in America is carried to its legitimate conclusion. Each township, city, county and state gets very much the government it deserves, but the powers given to the unequal states through equal representation in the Senate has a tendency to curb the authority of the central government and to neutralize the democratic and representative and responsive character of the House. Local self-government is often too absorbing to admit of sufficient interest in national affairs, but local

political considerations, due to the necessity for reelection, is the penalty we must necessarily pay for popular government.

The change in the method of choosing United States Senators by popular election, together with the growing size of the House of Representatives, is what is responsible for the subtle changes in the American government through which the Senate is growing at the expense of the House and somewhat at the expense of executive authority. It was formerly spoken of as a "Rich Man's Club," but there is really no harder working body of men anywhere. It is true that the Senate, as well as the House, farms out legislation to committees nearly equally divided in membership between the majority and minority, and is too apt to accept their reports on bills as verdicts of a jury, yet, in the main, legislation is more intelligently discussed in the Senate than in the House, and the House sends many illy considered bills to the Senate, knowing that they will meet the fate they deserve. The defect of the committee work is that discussion is not always public; hearings are often perfunctory; there is not

definite responsibility with such large membership, and, when the bills are discussed on the floor of the Chamber, the influences which prevailed in the committee room are not permitted to be revealed in the discussion. The "local issue" is the powerful factor, and national interests have not always the same earnest advocates. There are, of course, many wheels within wheels in legislation in both branches, but, in the main, the Upper House dominates the Lower, and, through the participation "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" in the appointing and treaty making power, the Senate is unquestionably the most influential and dominating Upper House in any country of the world.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY OF FRANCE

The Form of Government of France

THE government is *representative.* The state is represented by the National Assembly, which is a very different thing from the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The National Assembly is separate from and supreme over the government, but the "joker" is that the Government can not change the constitution, but the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate may transform themselves into the National Assembly and then change the constitution. The French Government is *democratic* and is *centralized* as there is no distribution of powers between the central government and the local government, which may be swept away by the central government at will. It is *co-ordinated* because a distinction is made in the

constitution between the functions of the legislative and executive departments.

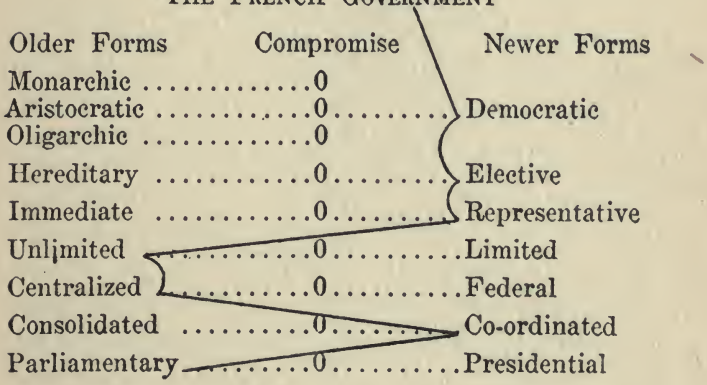
The French Government is *elective* and *parliamentary*. The members of the House of Deputies are elected by universal suffrage and direct election. The President is elected by a joint assembly of the House of Deputies and the Senate and in case of impeachment it is prescribed that the House of Deputies prosecute and the Senate act as a court to try him. Every act of the President must be countersigned by a responsible minister, but he has no veto power. His administration must be in political accord with the Chamber of Deputies no matter what the political majority may be in the Senate. The constitutional requirement that the ministry must be politically responsible to both chambers is now a dead letter. The French Senate is without great influence in the French Government.

To summarize: The French Government is *democratic, elective, representative, unlimited, centralized, co-ordinated, parliamentary* government. While France is a republic, the despotism of the Chamber of Deputies is

undeniable. Thus we find in the Chamber and the Commons of France and England the despotic power bred of the French and English revolutions. (There is really no French constitution but a series of three constitutional laws passed in 1875).

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

The French Government



Some French History

In 800 A. D., when Charlemagne saved Western Europe and became Roman Emperor, his sons were not able to agree among themselves, and, by the treaty of Verdun, in

843 A. D., Germany and France, until then united, became distinct kingdoms. Medieval France, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was able to shoulder aside the papacy, to dominate the continent, and to retain the leadership throughout the Hunderd Years' War, and until 1530, when, for nearly a century and a half, the Hapsburgs were at the pinnacle, viz. until 1660, when Louis XIV gathered in the reins of government in France, and took over the leadership of the continent. France dominated the continent until 1815, when Russia became the leading power until after the Crimean War (1853), when, for a few years, Napoleon III attempted the role, and, in 1870, the scepter passed to the Hohenzollerns and to Prussia. Gone now are the Romanoffs and Hapsburgs and also the Hohenzollerns after five hundred years in Bradenburg. This day and generation has witnessed Armageddon. France once more dominates the continent of Europe. Or is it Great Britain? Or is it the League of Nations?

For one thing, the key to the future lies in

the world's financial condition. The world's total funded debt is estimated at 265 billion dollars, of which the United States owes 21½ billion dollars, or a mere $225 per capita, which is a smaller fraction of the national wealth than is the debt of any other country except that of Japan. England's debt is four times that of the United States and France's debt is five times.

While everyone is hoping the world will soon adjust itself, it is just as well to realize that, in 1914, a new era dawned on the world, and everyone will now have to adjust themselves to the new world. What the world needs is greater equality of opportunity for individuals and for small countries. The United States is supposed to peculiarly stand for both these things, but so does France and Great Britain. It will be noted, however, that the smaller countries, which were allies in the war, have gotten a very small share of the spoils of the war, even with the United States immodestly denying itself altogether.

What the United States asks, above all things,

in the new adjustment, is the abolition of secret treaties and conducting negotiations behind closed doors, as the condition under which she will take part in European conferences.

CHAPTER IX

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY OF ITALY

The Form of Government of Italy

THE constitution of Italy is the same as that which King Charles Albert, of Savoy, gave his subjects in 1848. The kingship is hereditary in the House of Savoy and Italy and is thus *monarchic* in form. The legislative power is entrusted to two chambers, (1) that of the Chamber of Deputies, which is chosen by almost universal suffrage of all male citizens of over 21 years of age, and (2) that of the Senate, composed of princes of the blood and distinguished citizens nominated by the King as Senators for life. As the kingship is *hereditary* and the Chamber of Deputies is *elective* the Italian Government is a compromise between *hereditary* and *elective*. The judiciary is elective and independent of the executive power. The executive power is exercised by the

King, but more and more this power has come to be exercised through his ministers chosen from the parliamentary majority. Treaties must have the consent of parliament, and the signature of one of the ministers is required to give validity to royal decrees. A distinction is made in the constitution between the functions of the legislative and executive departments. Moreover there are two great advisory committees or bodies, (1) the Court of Accounts, whose function is to prevent the waste of public money, to guard the administration, and to uphold the laws; and (2) the Council of State with advisory functions, which watches over the rights of citizens in their relation to the state. This Council can also decide certain questions of administration by local authorities, and conflicts between Ministers and the Court of Accounts. The Italian Government is thus *representative* and *limited.*

While Italy is made up of former independent states, or kingdoms, there is no trace of federalization, except that Italy secures local self-government through being organized into 69 communes, prefects or provinces quite indepen-

dent of the state except through the fact that a Prefect is named by the Government. Every commune, or province, elects its own Commune Council, which in turn, elects its head, or Mayor, and the members of the Communal Committee who administer all local affairs. As the Prefects represent the executive power in every province, they exercise control over these communal committees and councils. There are also Provincial Committees and the Deputies, which are elected to represent the provinces in the Chamber of Deputies. This gives to the Prefects a chance to control somewhat the elections of the Deputies. The Minister of the Interior, through the control of the police, the sanitary departments, and of the Prefects of the provinces, has a dominant position in the cabinet, and, as the Prime Minister or President of the Council may elect which portfolios he may assume, it results that he generally chooses also to be Minister of the Interior. It is proposed now in Italy to amend the constitution so as to take away from the King the right to declare war and conduct foreign negotiations. There is no question but that the cabinet ministers in

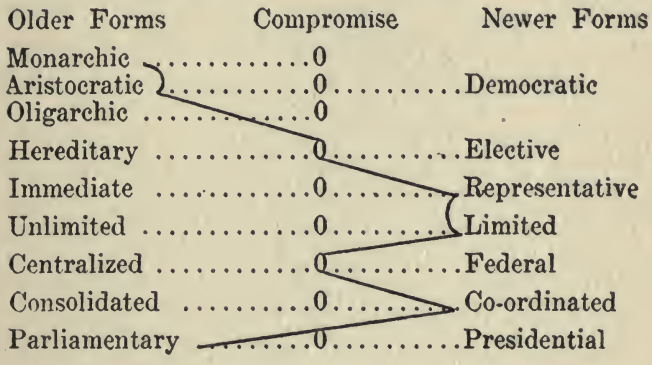
Italy are gradually encroaching upon the executive power of the King, but, with the frequent changes of ministry, with long interregnums while cabinets are being formed, legislation has been completely paralysed, necessitating carrying on the administration by royal decrees. All these things tend to give to the actual government of Italy a certain instability, which indicates a lack of proper check and balance in the working of the government. The Senate is without much real influence, but it is the highest court of justice in the case of political offenses or of the impeachment of ministers. As in France, with so many political parties in the Chamber of Deputies, the fate of a ministry depends on coalitions of ever shifting interests. The party system is therefore not very important in Italy. All money bills must originate in the Chamber of Deputies, and the consent of both chambers and the assent of the King are necessary to their being passed. Ministers may attend the debates of either house, but can only vote in that of which they are members.

To summarize, the Italian Government is *monarchic,* partly *hereditary,* partly *elective,*

representative, limited, partly *federal,* partly *centralized, co-ordinated, parliamentary* form of government.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT

THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT



THE COLONIAL POLICY OF ITALY

The first colonial venture of Italy was in March, 1880, when an Italian steamship company purchased from the Sultan of Berehan the rights to a coaling station on the African coast of the Red Sea at Assab Bay and neighboring region, for £1,880. This purchase was protested against by Egypt, Turkey and Great Britain,

but, with this as a starting point, eventually various treaties were made by Italy, and on the 1st of January, 1890, the various Italian possessions on the coast of the Red Sea were united by royal decree into one province, under the title of the Colony of Eritrea. The next colonial venture of the Italians in Abyssina came to a crisis in March, 1896, in the defeat of the Italian troops at Adowa, after which the colony of Eritrea was placed on a civil basis instead of a military one. By a French-Italian Convention in 1900, and an agreement between Italy, Abyssinia and Great Britain in 1902, the frontiers of Eritrea and of the Colony of Samalia were fixed. By a treaty with France in September, 1896, with regard to Tunisia, and by agreement in 1904, France recognized the Italian sphere of influence in Tripoli and Bengazi. Italy in 1911-1912 established herself in Lybia, which is composed of Cirenacia in the east, and Tripoli in the west, which touches Tunisia. When Italy entered the war in 1915 the Arabs, under the leadership of German and Turkish officers, attacked the Italian troops in Tripoli, and drove them into the coast cities.

Since the war Italian troops have been operating in this region with varying success.

Since the Armistice Italy has acquired the Isle of Rhodes, and has established herself in the southwestern part of Asia Minor.

CHAPTER X

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY OF JAPAN

The Form of Government of Japan

WHILE, in theory, the Emperor of Japan gave the constitution to the people, and permitted his powers to be defined by it; while he consents also to be advised by various bodies, such as the Elder Statesmen (the Genro), and the Privy Council, whose individual members are appointed by him; and while the government is *representative* in form through the fact that there is a distinction between the state and the government, yet Japan is really both a centralized autocracy, and a bureaucratic autocracy. However, as the state and government are not one and the same, we will have to classify the form of government as *representative,* and as *limited* by a constitution, but also as *monarchic,* and *oligarchic,*

since the Elder Statesmen may be said to control the government in many ways. At present there are 17 Princes, 38 Marquises, 100 Counts, 381 Viscounts and 403 Barons or 939 Peers in all, so that Japan is *aristocratic.* The Japanese Government is *centralized,* as there are no traces of federalization. As the powers, under the constitution, are distributed between the Emperor and the Diet it is *co-ordinated* in form, but the Emperor really has so much power that the form of government may be said to be partly *consolidated* and partly *co-ordinated.* It is also partly *hereditary* and partly *elective.* It is also presidential in form as the Cabinet is not answerable to the Diet, but it is in no sense a democratic government, since a city, like Tokyo, of 3,000,000 inhabitants, has a voting population of about twenty-four thousand, five hundred (24,500).

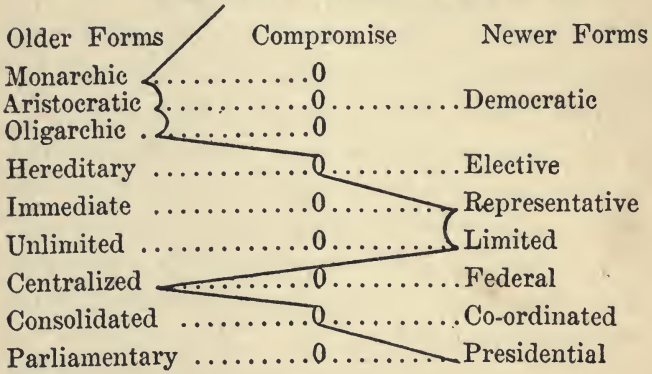
A Cabinet, in Japan, rarely lasts longer than two years, and never longer than three. It is usually overthrown by popular demonstrations against its policies, or for failure to accomplish promised reforms. Japan will, in a few years, probably have to come to the *Cabinet* form

of government outright, as it is now that in practice.

To summarize: The Japanese Government is *monarchic, aristocratic, hereditary, elective, representative, limited, centralized, consolidated, co-ordinated* and *presidential.*

FORM OF GOVERNMENT

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT



DESCRIPTION OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN

The Emperor theoretically and theocratically reigns over and governs Japan, because he combines in his person descent from the Gods, the

sovereignty of the state, the government of the country and its people, and the political headship of the nation. It is true that his power is exercised through a Cabinet and a bureaucracy, to which is entrusted the routine of administration, but even the Diet may be dissolved at any time by the Emperor, and he has the absolute veto and alone has the right to propose amendments to the constitution. While members may introduce bills in the diet, the Emperor may withdraw such bills and amend them. To him also belongs the supreme power to organize and reorganize all the Departments of the government, to appoint and remove officials, fix salaries, declare war, make peace, conclude treaties, proclaim a state of siege, confer titles, grant amnesty, promulgate ordnances which have the effect of law and command the Army and Navy. The Cabinet, which was instituted in 1868, does not derive its powers from the constitution, but from the Emperor, as in all presidential forms, and yet it may be said that the Cabinet apparently governs, since the Emperor has never refused his approval of any law which has been presented to him by the

Cabinet. In Japan, as in the former German Empire, the Chancellor, or, as he is called in Japan, the Minister-President, is all in all, and the other eight ministers are relatively of less importance, thereby enabling the Premier to build up a political party of which he is the actual leader. It is this which is tending to make the Cabinet responsive to an adverse vote in the Diet.

The constitution provides that the Privy Council, which was established in 1888, shall deliberate on matters referred to it by the Emperor. Thirty of its members are appointed by the Emperor, and the nine Cabinet Ministers are *ex-officio* members of the Council. The approval of the Emperor to a decision of the Council places it over the Cabinet, which can not question its decision. By incorporating the policy of the Cabinet in the procedure of the Privy Council, no interpolation may take place in the Diet, and thus is nullified the right which members of the Diet have to question acts of the Cabinet, since they may shelter themselves behind the Privy Council. This is one of the "jokers" in the Japanese form of

government. Ex-Senator T. E. Burton, of Ohio, in an article in the "New York Times" says:

> "Beyond all these and really above them are the Genro, or Elder Statesmen, a non-official body, and who are intimate advisors of the sovereign. There are usually about half a dozen members selected from those who have rendered notable service in peace or war. No official list is published. Prince Yamagata, also President of the Privy Council, is the leading spirit among the Elder Statesmen, and the Marquis Matsukaka, under whose management the gold standard was established, sometimes termed the Bismark of Japan, is another. Both are over 80 years of age, and it is confidently predicted that with their demise the influence of the Elder Statesmen, always a strong force for conservatism, will pass away.
>
> "Reference must be made to certain clans, recruited from feudal cliques existing before the Restoration, unity among whom has been very much strengthened by frequent intermarriages. They rendered most valuable assistance in restoring the power of the Emperor, and, ever since, have furnished a majority of the membership in nearly all the Cabinets. Among them the most conspicuous are the Satsuma and Chosiu clans, from the former of which most of the officers of the navy have been furnished, and, from the latter, leaders of the army. Many of their

members hold most important offices of permanent tenure. The result is a system of bureaucracy rarely surpassed. The ascendency of these officials, who are closely associated with the military and reactionary forces, is scarcely comprehensible to one living in a country of free institutions. They are more influential than the Diet, and often superior, in fact, to the Ministers themselves.

"The present condition will not be changed until party government and Ministerial concontrol, coupled with responsibility, become established. There is unquestionably a strong movement in this direction."

The Japanese "bill of rights," as incorporated in the constitution, comprises fifteen articles out of the seventy-six that go to make up the constitution. These seem to provide equal eligibility to office, liberty to change place of residence, freedom from arrest, trial, and punishment, the right to judicial trial, exemption of the house from liability to search, privacy of correspondence, inviolability of property rights, freedom of religious belief, liberty of speech, publication and association, and the right of petitioning the Diet, but in no instance does the constitution itself declare the

conditions by which these precious privileges shall be enforced. In no case does it assign a penalty for the agent who shall contravene one of these rights. In other words, personal rights are not guaranteed. While the Minister-President has general control of the affairs of state, as a matter of fact, however, military and naval officers are authorized to approach the Emperor direct upon affairs of state, and otherwise than through the medium of the Minister-President, and obtain certain decisions thereon. Questions of military expansion and national defense which are closely related to affairs of state, diplomacy and finance, are really settled outside of the sphere of the Minister-President. The Board of Marshals and Admirals of the Fleet (Gensui-fu) and the Military Council (Gunji Sangi-in) afford special protection to the power of the military element. It is obligatory that the two Cabinet positions of Minister of War and Minister of the Navy, and other high administrative offices, shall be filled by military and naval officers of high rank. In its practical working, this means

that the Army and Navy are able to dictate who shall be Minister of War and Minister of the Navy, respectively, and can use their power in such a way as to destroy any cabinet to which they may become opposed. In a book by the former Minister of Justice in the Okuma Cabinet, Mr. Ozaki Yukio, entitled, "The Voice of Japanese Democracy," published in Yokahoma in 1918, with an introduction by Marquis Okuma, it is stated that under the present system, military and naval men are empowered to assume any official position whatsoever in addition to those military duties which are properly attached to their profession — that is, they are qualified to be Ministers or Vice-Ministers of Education, Finance, Agriculture and Commerce-branches of the administration which are removed as far as possible from things military; while at the same time, civilians are absolutely disqualified for the posts of Ministers and Vice-Ministers of War and Navy, and the Governor-General of Korea, Formosa and Kwangtung. In the civil service, officials — other than Ministers of State — who are per-

sonally appointed by the Emperor — are so few in number that they can be counted on the fingers of both hands; but in the military service there are several scores of such, including Governors-Generals of various colonies, Commanders of Divisions, Commanders of Naval Stations, etc.

Another writer, Mr. Walter W. McLaren, in an article on "Present-day Government in Japan," which appeared in "Asia" in March, 1919, says:

> "When coupled with the rules of the Privy Council adopted in 1894 prescribing the qualifications of candidates for certain high offices, among them the cabinet offices of the army and navy, it has been possible for the Supreme Military Council to control to a large extent the policy of the Cabinet. An example may serve to make this matter clear. In December, 1912, the second Saionji Cabinet resigned while it enjoyed the support of the majority of the members of the lower house of the Diet. The cause of the downfall of the ministry was the defection from its ranks of the Minister of War, General Uyehara, whose resignation came about as a consequence of the refusal of the cabinet to adopt as part of its legislative program for the year an army

measure providing for the creation of two new divisions. Uyehara exercised his right to resign, but the Supreme Military Council made the ministry pay the penalty by refusing to detail a qualified officer to take his place, and if the army will not fill the war office in any cabinet, of necessity the Minister-President and his colleagues must resign."

Ex-Senator Burton, in his articles on Japan, says:

"Since the establishment of the Diet, less than thirty years ago, there has been no less than fifteen changes in Prime Ministers. The longest term was that of Prince Katsura, who held office four years and seven months, a tenure made possible by the exigencies of the Russo-Japanese War, during which a change was undesirable. The reasons are not difficult to ascertain. Although no Cabinet can remain in office without the approval of the Emperor and the powerful influence of the imperial household and that array of militarists and others who constitute the bureaucracy, nevertheless subserviency to these elements is not sufficient, because the Diet, just in the proportion in which it is deprived of control, indulges in the fiercest criticism. Popular agitation is a mighty force in Japan. * * * It must be said that Japan has done much less in adopting modern ideas of popular government than in utilizing foreign methods which afford mili-

> tary strength and prosperity in trade and industry. The success of the movement for more liberal institutions and Ministerial responsibility, which has been so notable a feature almost everywhere in recent years, must depend upon the degree of awakening among her own people, and in no small measure upon the success of newly established democratic governments elsewhere."

Mr. Yukio Ozaki, former Minister of Justice, who recently returned to Tokyo from a visit to America and Europe, said on July 9, 1920:

> "Japan never will win her rival place among the nations until she overturns the tyranny of the military clique. World's suspicion has turned against us because the world sees in Japan an aggressively imperialistic and militaristic country."

The Foreign Policy of Japan

The foreign policy of Japan is imperialistic, although Japan is still predominantly an agricultural state, with average forms of less than three acres. More than thirty million of her population are engaged in agriculture, and two million in fisheries in the rivers and surrounding seas of Japan.

Mr. Richard W. Child in the "World's Work" for July, 1919 says:

> "Few civilizations have equaled Japan in unity in the sense of race loyalty and race pride, the willingness to sacrifice for good citizenship, or skill in preserving unity of blood and of purpose. Few have equal honor and accumulated tradition. Few have made art and high thinking so thoroughly permeate life, high or low. Few have made so late an entry into commercial and industrial life, and therefore few have had Japan's embarrassment in learning the ethics and morals of commerce. Few, underneath their skins, are quite as timid and self-conscious as the Japanese. Japan is the only stable nation and government in Asia capable of being a leader."

He further suggests that the United States is the leader in the Western Hemisphere, as England is in Europe, and that Japan is willing to accept the obligation in Asia has the geographical position and has the necessary sea-power. Japan is not self-sustaining as regards food and markets, which are more vital to her than territory. Although she is overcrowded her people are averse to immigration into Japanese owned territory. Japan must be-

come a manufacturing country and make goods with which to buy food. In other words, she must become a second England.

Japan is very properly and very industrially seeking mineral resources on the continent of Asia, seeking land for colonization for her excess population, and seeking new markets for her increasing industries. Her foreign policy, in the annexation of Korea, in control and occupation in Manchuria and Shantung, with the control of the railways, as well as the extension of her sphere of influence in Mongolia and Siberia, are all signs that Japan is awakening to her future requirements. She already controls more than one-third of the operating collieries in China, controls and operates large steel mills in the Yangtse Valley and coal and iron mines in Shantung.

As to immigration the Japanese Government is not responsible for, nor really favorable towards, Japanese immigration to California, and the best sentiment of Japan is in favor of abandoning immigration to remote countries and centering the settlements upon nearby localities on the continent of Asia. The great

drawback is that Japanese do not "follow the flag" in colonization. They prefer other countries.

The number of Japanese abroad was estimated in figures recently published in Japanese newspapers and attributed to the foreign office as follows; United States, 125,000; Hawaii, 114,000; Manchuria, 181,000; China, exclusive of Manchuria, 59,000; Brazil, 31,000; Siberia, 8,295; and Europe, 1,377.

Of the Japanese in the United States it is estimated that 30,000 are liable for military service. In Hawaii 10,000 Japanese are reported already to have sent formal applications to Japan for exemption from military service.

Prior to the war the Great Powers were all interested in preserving the integrity of China, and heretofore worked in concert in all matters political and financial. The growing irritation of Japan over any of the Powers' attempting to deal directly with the Chinese Government seems to indicate that Japan believes that the solution of her problem lies in her control of China, but no one can ever really control China. How far the Great Powers are willing to re-

nounce their commercial, financial and political interests in China is an important question. It would seem rather late in the day for Japan to establish a Monroe Doctrine of her own, for China has fully 79% of its territory under foreign influence, although in the total 4,300,000 square miles of territory in China the United States has no stake whatever. Japan is naturally interested in keeping foreign powers from obtaining any more military and naval bases or fortified strongholds in China, because they are a real menace to Japan. She has no reason, however, to fear an aggressive policy on the part of the United States, since it is merely concerned with the maintenance of equal trade opportunities in Asia. It would not seem that any country could in the end succeed in a policy of depriving the United States of a fair field.

CHAPTER XI

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY OF GERMANY

The Form of Government of Germany

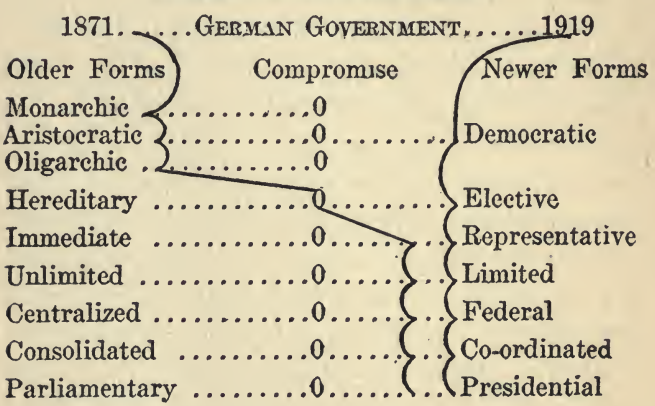
ALTHOUGH the government of Germany has now been changed into that of a republic it is well to consider briefly not only the form of government under the German Kaiser, but the present form of government under the republic, and to contrast the two with a view to understanding the significance of the change. Under the form of government as instituted in 1871, the German Imperial Government was *monarchic, aristocratic* and *oligarchic.* It was oligarchic because power was given to Bundesrath where not only the apportionment of taxes was made, but also where the budget for each year was prepared through votes which were practically independent of the action of the Reichstag, which only had nominal power of approval. It was a *representative* government

as the state and legislative bodies had distinct powers. As the powers of the government were limited by the constitution the government was *limited* in form. It was exactly, as in the case of the United States, a *federal* government, in that it was a union of sovereign states. Rights of the central government were defined in the constitution and the states reserved all powers not belonging to the central government. It was, as to tenure of office, partly *hereditary* and partly *elective*. It was a *presidential* government, as distinguished from parliamentary or cabinet, as the ministers were appointed by the Emperor, and the legislative body had no control over them. The right to veto the acts of the Reichstag rested, by a peculiar arrangement, with the 17 Prussian members of the Bundesrath. The Emperor could adjourn and prorogue the Reichstag, and, as the ministers were not subject to the Reichstag, the government was distinctly *presidential* in form. There were many democratic features in Germany which made it, in many respects, as much entitled to the distinction of being democratic as France and England. The contrast between

the forms of the German Government in 1871 and under the constitution of 1919 are shown in the diagram which follows.

We may summarize the Imperial German Government under the constitution of 1871 as *monarchic, aristocratic, oligarchic,* partly *elective,* partly *hereditary, limited, federal, co-ordinated,* and *presidential.*

FORM OF GOVERNMENT



The New German Government

The new German constitution was adopted by the National Constituent Assembly on July 31, 1919, at Weimar, and became effective on Au-

gust 13th. The great difficulty with the constitution of 1871 had been that it gave Prussia a too dominant position in the empire, and it would seem that the first demand of the Allies, in the peace settlement, would naturally be the assurance that Prussia should be divided up into smaller states, as being too large and too dominant. The German people seem to realize this themselves. A study of the new German constitution will show that it embodies all of the advantages of that of the United States, while avoiding many of the clumsy features of both the American constitution and the German constitution of 1871, due to the federalization, which left too much power in the hands of the separate states. As a matter of fact, with all the reputation that the German Kaiser had of being an autocrat, his powers were really very limited, and, in many ways, the President of the Republic of Germany will have considerable more political power than the Emperor actually had. The real curbing of the power of Prussia has been accomplished by permitting portions of the Empire to be altered territorially by a plebiscite in the district

affected. There is a provision also that imperial law supersedes that of the individual states, but the curb is that the former Bundesrath has become the Imperial Council, composed of representatives of the individual states, which have, at least, one vote apiece, but no state can have more than two-fifths of the total number of votes in the Council.

Dr. Hugo Preuss is the reputed author of the new German constitution, which is one of the cleverest documents of the kind, the human mind has yet framed. Whether or not it can weather the storm in Germany is another question. By its provisions the members of the Reichstag are elected for four years, the President is chosen by the entire German people for a term of seven years, and his executive acts must be countersigned by the Chancellor or by the Cabinet Minister whose department is affected. The Chancellor and Cabinet are selected by the President and are not subject to the will of the Reichstag, except through impeachment. Very curiously, after the recent revolution, a new election had to be held, and the Cabinet had to be selected from members

of the different political groups in order to get a voting majority in the Reichstag. The intention of the constitution was to make the President of the Republic independent of the Reichstag in the appointment of his Cabinet, in other words, to have the presidential form of government, but as the Chancellor could not get measures through without a majority, the result of this clever constitution has been that the Cabinet is in a measure subject to the will of the Reichstag. This condition of affairs is exactly similar to what has taken place in Japan, and the United States may find itself, before long, with the only purely presidential form of government among the Powers. The constitution can be altered by a quorum of two-thirds of the Reichstag voting for alteration by a two-thirds majority. There is nothing to prevent the Reichstag from peacefully overthrowing the government by a two-thirds vote of a quorum, and then constitutionally installing a King or Emperor in place of the President who is abolished. This "joker" will require watching. The "joker" in the former German constitution was that there were 17 votes for Prussia in

the Bundesrath, out of a total of 58, but these 17 votes could defeat an amendment to the constitution, and also all laws and existing arrangements affecting the army, navy, colonies and taxes would remain in force if the Prussian delegates so voted. As the Emperor personally appointed 17 Prussian delegates this placed the veto power practically in the hands of Prussia and the Emperor. Another "joker" was that the Emperor could not dictate policies, but he could change the Chancellor, Chief of the General Staff of the Army, or any Minister, and in effect put over his policy. The American Chief Executive has this authority under our constitution, and it is one of the "jokers" in the United States government. As such appointments are subject to confirmation by the United States Senate there is some check to this autocratic power.

The Form of Government of the New German Republic

The new German government is *representative, limited, federal, co-ordinated, elective, presidential,* and *democratic* government.

The differences in the new constitution and that of the former one are in:

(1) the declaration that the German Empire is now a republican state with sovereignty resting with the people,

(2) the rules of international law are held as binding,

(3) the supremacy of the imperial law over the laws of the states,

(4) the Reichstag is elected for the definite period of four years and is not subject to dissolution by the executive,

(5) The President may employ the armed forces to quell disturbances and to compel any state to comply with constitutional requirements, but the Reichstag may veto this power in any given case,

(6) The President's executive acts must be countersigned by the chancellor or a minister,

(7) the Reichstag is given the right to impeach the President, chancellor, or any minister, but the charges must bear the signature of at least one hundred (100) members,

(8) the Bundesrath now becomes the imperial council with the power of Prussia curbed,
(9) the budget system is adopted,
(10) the entire postal telegraph and railroad systems to be taken over by the Empire and the states and the canals may be taken over in case the defense of the country requires it,
(11) judges are chosen for life,
(12) freedom of speech and no censorship except of moving picture films morally.

The new German constitution is a chastened and model document but it remains to be seen how far it is more than a proposed program of procedure.

CHAPTER XII

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY OF SPAIN

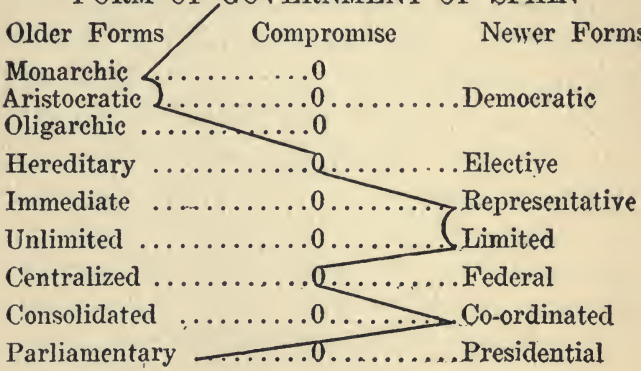
The Form of Government of Spain

SPAIN is an hereditary monarchy, and its form of government is therefore *monarchic* and *aristocratic.* The constitution was promulgated on June 30, 1876. As membership in the Senate is partly hereditary, and the kingship, and many high offices, entirely so, the form of government is partly *hereditary,* and, as the members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by practically universal suffrage, it is also partly *elective.* As the constitution requires all decrees to be signed by a responsible minister, and the powers of the government are limited by the constitution, the form of government is *representative* and *limited.* There is no trace of federalization, but the local government by provinces, communes and towns, gives to the form of government a partly *federal*

character. The government is *co-ordinated* by the constitution, and as the Cabinet goes out on an adverse vote in the Chamber of Deputies, the form of government is *parliamentary* or *cabinet.*

To summarize: the form of government of Spain is *monarchic, aristocratic,* partly *hereditary,* partly *elective, representative, limited,* partly *centralized,* partly *federal, co-ordinated,* and *parliamentary.*

FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN



Colonial Possessions of Spain

By the independence of Cuba and the cession of Porto Rico, the Philippines, Sulu Islands,

Guam, the largest of the Mariana or Ladrone Islands, to the United States in 1898, and the cession of the remaining Ladrone Islands, together with the Marshall and Caroline Islands to Germany by the treaty of February 8, 1899, the colonial possessions of Spain were greatly reduced, much to the advantage of Spain financially. She now owns a strip of Morocco on the North coast of Africa, bordering on the Mediterranean, of which Ceuta, Melilla and Larache are the principal towns, and, besides this, she holds Rio de Oro, a strip of the coast of Sahara and its hinterland lying between Morocco and French West Africa. Spain also controls Spanish Guinea between the French Congo and German Cameroon, and some islands in the Gulf of Guinea. These possessions, with the Balearic Islands in the Mediterranean, and the Canary Islands in the Atlantic, are remnants of an empire, which began its decline with the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the rise of England to the commanding position in sea-power, which up to that time Spain had held.

Spanish Morocco is the only recent colonial acquisition of Spain which gave promise, but

the recent military reverses have made it a liability instead of an asset. The question of Spanish domination in Tangier is the most important diplomatic problem with which Spain is at the present moment concerned. What Spain's future policy is to be is largely limited by local disturbances within Spain itself.

CHAPTER XIII

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

IN THE main the constitutions of the states of Central and South America have been modeled on that of the United States of America, and therefore follow the presidential system. The one marked exception is Chile which has adopted the parliamentary system. As previously stated, the cabinet, or parliamentary system, is rather fatal to continuity of policy. There has not been much cause for complaint in the past in some Central and South American countries owing to the fact that continuity of policy and permanency of cabinets have been insured by a dictatorship or a government carried on outside of constitutional provisions, or at least where the elections have been a farce. The government of the United States has set its face against such dictators, and against recognizing revolutionary governments which have overthrown those which were duly elected. It is difficult, however, to be consistent,

since circumstances alter cases. While the "Monroe Doctrine" has saved Central and South America from the fate of Africa and the impending fate of Asia, there has been very little gratitude or realization of this on the part of the countries concerned. In fact there is considerable hostility throughout Latin-America to the "Monroe Doctrine," but it has been the one great stabilizing principle of foreign policy for which the United States stands and will continue to stand firmly.

CHAPTER XIV

WILL THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS DO AWAY WITH FUTURE WARS?

THE world is fond of phrases and formulae. Not long ago we were all engaged in making the world safe for democracy without regard to whether or not democracy is really safe for the world. The pendulum swings back and forth with action and reaction. Now we all talk of "limitation of armaments," like swearing off or tapering off from the wastefulness and drunkenness of war — for which we had failed to prepare. Meanwhile all the peace settlements and divisions of territory are more or less sowing the dragon's teeth of future wars and creating other Alsace-Lorraines or sowing the seeds of further armaments.

United States, for the moment, is standing aloof from most of the settlements because it believes that no territory is worth having which

is not held by the free will of its people; that it is foolish to make love with bayonets; and that no territory held by mere military control will prove anything but a dead loss in the end. Treaties are apt to be mere scraps of paper when secret clauses are interpolated or secret understandings are arrived at behind closed doors. The old fashioned diplomacy is becoming pretty well discredited, and corruption and spying are becoming unpopular. Honesty is being acclaimed as more than merely the best policy because more comes to a nation through real disinterestedness than through scheming and grabbing. Africa is divided up; the Turkish Empire is dismembered; the Western Hemisphere is barred from conquest by the Monroe Doctrine; and Asia alone remains practicable as a field of exploitation. The most important question in the world today, therefore, is for it to determine whether or not Asia shall suffer the same fate as Africa. The United States is decidedly opposed to this proposition.

No one can, however, make a thorough and impartial inquiry into the causes of war without realizing that their roots run deep into the

soil of trade rivalry and economic aspirations. As David Jayne Hill says:

> "In the light of history we can no longer accept the doctrine that industrialism and commercialism by a process of natural evolution automatically supersede militarism. On the contrary, we perceive that militarism, on the one hand, and industry and commerce on the other, are at present partners rather than antagonists. They are differently, but closely associated, activities of modern business policy as conducted by the state. If there were no economic questions involved, the conflict of nationalities could soon be ended. Modern wars are trade wars. Modern armies and navies are not maintained for the purpose of ruthlessly taking human life or of covering rulers with glory. They are, on the one hand, armed guardians of economic advantages already possessed; and, on the other, agents of intended future depredation, gradually organized for purposes alleged to be innocent, and at what is esteemed the auspicious moment despatched upon their mission of aggression. Mere international misunderstandings are readily adjusted where there is the will to adjust them; but against the deliberately formed policies of national business expansion — the reaching out for new territory, increased population, war indemnities, coaling-stations, trade monopolies, control of markets, supplies of raw materials, and advantageous

treaty privileges, to be procured under the shadow of the sword — there is no defense except the power to thwart or obstruct them by armed resistance.

"We must, then, definitely abandon the thesis that industrialism is essentially pacific, and will eventually automatically disband armies and navies, and thus put an end to war. On the contrary, modern armies and navies are the result of trade rivalry, and are justified to those who support them on the ground that there are national interests to be defended or advantages to be attained by their existence. So long as even one powerful nation retains its heritage of evil and insists that it may employ its armies or navies aggressively as an agency in its national business, so long, to put the matter directly, as the nations must buy and sell, travel and exchange, negotiate and deliver, with bayonets at their breasts, so long defensive armies and navies will be necessary, and the battle for civilization must go on."

This is all very well in its way but can any country small or large, sparsely settled or populas, have any guarantee of its independence, which is not prepared to fight as hard as possible for its existence? In other words, is not disarmament as provocative of war as armament? And are not the causes of war deeper than this mere question? If the League

of Nations and Limitation of Naval Armaments cannot bring about peace on earth, what can? The answer is, only a change in human nature can prevent wars. That, however, being apparently out of the question, what is the next best thing? Apparently in the accepted ethics of the world a state or business firm can do all things necessary for its own interests and the ordinary rules of morality between individuals do not apply to them! The answer is, however, that we should try to apply the same rules of morality to states that we do between individuals. But will nations accept this code of morality? If not, the only solution is armaments.

A British writer recently said:

> "A League of Nations presupposes a division of sovereignty and the right of outside authority to challenge the power of the duly constituted government of a country. Such a system, based half on idealism and half on rapacity, has more than once been tried in the history of the world — and has failed * * *. Let us mind our own business; let us prevent others from interfering in ours. Such a line may not bring universal peace, but it certainly will save us from universal chaos."

CHAPTER XV

TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION

THE World War has given us a new conception of the State. In olden times all the interests of state, all territory, and all property belonged to the sovereign, of which the people enjoyed only the usufruct. Even their persons and their lives were assumed to be at his disposal. The people now stand in place of this sovereign and the national interests have become, in some countries, a partnership between the people and the Monarch. This is especially so in Belgium where the sovereigns have been of great business ability. The recent war compelled governments to enter into every kind of business and the state has become an economic as well as a political organ of society. This will naturally stimulate international rivalries because governments are now openly seeking markets, raw materials, food supplies, and fuel. In view of the danger of war entailed by these new policies, it is well to ask if it is

justifiable for governments to stimulate industries and foreign trade, by giving preferential rates on railroads and steamship lines, by subsidies, by seeking special spheres or concessions for national enterprises and, in fact, by developing foreign trade through the patronage, intervention and diplomacy of the governments, or what we call in America by "Dollar Diplomacy." There are examples of this policy on every hand and much of the unsettled condition in the world today, in the shape of unemployment and stagnation in trade, is due to the delay in agreements as to the territorial spoils of war. This stagnation has involved the United States, which seeks no new territories, as well as the neutral countries — who took no part in the war.

We have previously enumerated the four cardinal British policies, (1) "The Integrity of the Low Countries," (2) "The Balance of Power," (3) "Sea Supremacy," and (4) "The Security of the Route to India." One other great historical policy of Great Britain has been "Free Trade," but it is now rather shaping itself into an imperial trade union within the colonial empire itself. Geographical,

economical and financial considerations demand, in self defense, that Great Britain should now openly pursue a commercial policy, because of the new responsibilities undertaken as a result of the World War, and through the enormous additions to her colonial empire. In 1915 a Parliamentary Return gave the estimated total of British capital invested outside of the British Isles as four billion pounds, on which the annual interest was about two hundred million pounds. As the total income subject to taxation in Great Britain at that time was only one billion pounds, the moneyed classes derived about one fifth of their income from foreign investments. The development of the newly acquired territories will call for further foreign investments. A member of the French Chamber of Deputies, Andre Friburg, said on June 19th, 1920:

> "Great Britain's territorial gains in the war are so startling in contrast to those of the other allies that it is now possible for an Englishman to travel from Cape Town to Tasmania by way of India and Singapore, a distance of 18,000 miles, without once setting foot on other than British territory." * * *

The war has added to the British Empire:

"German Southwest Africa, 550,000 square miles; German West Africa, 680,000 square miles; Togo and Cameroons, 75,000 square miles; New Guinea and Bismark, 180,000 square miles.

"In addition the following colonies and countries have passed under British influence:

"Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, nearly 1,600,000 square miles.

"Persia, with 19,000,000 inhabitants, 1,000,000 square miles.

"Mesopotamia, 2,000,000 square miles.

"Today, in the countries contiguous to the Indian Ocean, Great Britain claims no less than 22,000,000 square miles, of which 6,000,000 are in Asia, 6,000 in Oceana and 10,000,000 in Africa. * * * * *

"Quietly but surely England has encircled an entire ocean, organizing on three continents the most gigantic assembly of colonies, the most imposing conglomeration of dependent nations, which the world has ever seen.

"More than ever before in history Great Britain is mistress over the major portion of the earth's surface — and this result can be directly attributed to the war.

"Sitting in Buckingham Palace today King George V rules over 400,000,000 of people outside of his own kingdom. After considering that, can we ask without a smile which nation made most out of the war?"

The above does not include two hundred square miles of territory just back of the hills in the rear of Kowloon, opposite Honk Kong, which Great Britain acquired from China in 1919. This compares very favorably with the two hundred and seventy square miles in the Kaiochow leased territory, including the islands in the Bay, which were transferred to Japan as a result of the war.

From the "Statesman's Year Book, 1921" the following table is taken:

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1919-1920

	Area in Square Miles	Population
United Kingdom	121,633	47,000,000
Europe (Gibraltar and Malta)	120	242,000
India	1,802,629	315,156,000
Asia (except India)	169,826	9,860,000
Australasia	3,188,405	7,172,000
Africa	3,493,574	54,627,000
America	4,010,285	11,533,000
Total Square Miles	12,786,472	445,590,000

This does not include the mandatory territories assigned to the British Empire as follows:

BRITISH MANDATORY TERRITORIES

	Area in Square Miles	Population
AFRICA		
Tanyanyika Territory	384,000	3,500,000
S. W. Africa	322,000	200,000
Togo	12,500	300,000
Cameroons	30,000	400,000

BRITISH MANDATORY TERRITORIES (Continued)

	Area in Square Miles	Population
PACIFIC		
New Guinea	70,000	150,000
Bismarck Archipelago	16,000	190,000
Solomon Islands and Samoa	1,300	41,000
Total Square Miles	835,800	4,781,000

The above does not include Great Britain's sphere of influence in China, which, before the war, embraced over one million square miles of territory.

The following table shows America's territorial possessions:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND POSSESSIONS

	Area in Square Miles	Population
Continental States (48)	2,973,890	105,800,346
TERRITORIES		
Alaska	590,884	54,899
Hawaii	6,449	255,912
Total Square Miles	3,571,223	106,101,157
INSULAR POSSESSIONS		
Porto Rico	3,435	1,299,809
Philippine Islands	119,542	10,350,640
Virgin Islands	132	26,051
Samoa	102	8,056
Guam	225	13,275
Panama Canal Zone	441	22,858
Total Square Miles	123,877	11,720,689
Total Area Square Miles	3,695,100	117,821,846

The following table is also interesting:

FRENCH COLONIES AND POSSESSIONS

	Area in Square Miles	Population	Date of Acquisition
ASIA			
India	196	268,499	1679
Annam			1884
Cambodia			1862
Cochin-China	256,000	16,990,229	1861
Tonking			1884
Laos			1892
	256,196	17,268,728	

FRENCH COLONIES AND POSSESSIONS (Continued)

	Area in Square Miles	Population	Date of Acquisition
AFRICA			
French Morocco	220,540	5,400,000	1912
Algeria	222,580	5,563,828	1830-1902
Sahara	1,544,000	800,000	....
Tunis	50,000	1,953,000	1881
Senegal	74,112	1,204,113	1637-1889
French Sudan	617,600	2,200,975	1893
Upper Volta	154,400	3,000,100	1893
Guinea	95,218	1,851,200	1843
Ivory Coast	121,976	1,407,030	1843
Dahomey	42,460	860,590	1893
Mauritania	347,400	240,144	1893
Military Territory of Niger	347,400	700,225	1912
Congo	779,270	10,000,000	1884
Reunion	970	174,000	1649
Madagascar	228,000	3,512,690	1643-1896
Mayotte	790	97,000	1843
Somali Coast	5,790	208,000	1864
	4,853,506	39,172,895	
AMERICA			
St. Pierre and Miquelon	93	4,652	1635
Guadeloupe	722	212,430	1634
Martinique	385	193,000	1635
Guiana	32,000	49,000	1635
	33,200	459,082	
OCEANIA			
New Caledonia	7,650	50,600	1854-1887
Tahiti, etc.	1,544	30,600	1841-1881
	9,194	81,200	
MANDATE TERRITORIES			
Cameroon	166,489	1,500,000	1919
Togo	21,893	500,000	1919
	188,382	2,000,000	
Total Area Square Miles	5,340,478	58,981,905	

TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION

The following is the data for Japan:

JAPANESE EMPIRE AND POSSESSIONS

	Area in Square Miles	Population	Date of Acquisition
PRINCIPAL ISLANDS			
Japan, Kuriles, Loo Choo, Bonis, etc.	148,756	55,961,140	....
Korea	84,738	17,284,207	1910
Formosa	13,914	3,654,398	1895
Pescadores	47	.....	1895
Sakhalu	13,253	105,765	1905
	260,708	77,005,510	
LEASED TERRITORY			
Kwantung	538	600,644	1915
CAPTURED TERRITORY			
Kiau Chiau	200	227,000	1914
Total Area Square Miles	261,446	77,833,154	
MANDATORY ISLANDS			
Marianna or Ladrone Islands	15	5,392	1919
Caroline Lslands	500	45,145	1919
Marshall Islands	24	9,008	1919
Total Area Square Miles of Mandatory Islands	539	49,545	

The following shows the progress made by Italy:

ITALY AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

	Area in Square Miles	Population	Date of Acquisition
ITALY	110,632	36,120,118	1870
Acquired by War			
Alto Adige	618	24,345	1919
Carinzia	113	7,667	1919
Carniola	782	88,605	1919
Gonzia and Gradisca	1,138	260,749	1919
Trieste	37	229,510	1919
Istria	2,035	404,309	1919
Trentino and Ampezzano	2,627	393,111	1919
	118,002	37,528,414	

ITALY AND ITS DEPENDENCIES (Continued)

	Area in Square Miles	Population	Date of Acquisition
DEPENDENCIES			
Eritrea	45,800	450,000	1897
Somaliland	139,430	650,000	1897
Tripoli and Cyrenaica	406,000	6,000,000	1912
Tientsin Concession	¼	10,017	1902
Rhodes	564	46,500	1912
	591,796¼	7,156,517	
Total Area Square Miles	709,796¼	44,684,931	

It would be intensely interesting to have a map of Europe, in varied colors, showing the movements of different peoples since the dawn of history, recorded at such short intervals of time as to be susceptible of reproduction as a moving picture of the ebb and flow of conflicting races in the struggle for possession of favoring lands. In spite of all the checks and restraints of Hague Conferences, limitation of armaments, and solemn treaties, we can only hope to delay such movements in Europe but apparently not prevent them in other parts of the world. Peoples seem endowed by nature with earth hunger, or acquisitiveness, or a passion for imposing their "kultur" or civilization on backward peoples but in and through it all run deep eco-

nomic motives seeking the advancement of mass interests, or capitalism, which, unchecked by treaties, agreements, or "the world's spirit," degenerate into mere greed.

CHAPTER XVI

SOME CONCLUSIONS

IN WHAT has been said there is nothing very new or startling, but, on the other hand, few people realize the changes going on in the world today in popular ideas of government and what little progress, after all, has been made in the art or science of government. The trouble is that government is too often an art and not a science, and, on the other hand, all the good intentions of the new scientific German government, in seeking to avoid the instability of the cabinet form of government, in favor of the presidential, have been set at naught, and, in its actual working, the cabinet goes out with a lack of a majority in the Reichstag. Even Japan is drifting into the cabinet form of government. The United States alone, with its two party system, is realizing that, while the presidential system gives continuity of policy, it does not adequately fix responsibility on in-

dividual cabinet officers but only on the President.

The "check and balance" between the executive, legislative and judicial branches, in the American government system, naturally causes some friction and is, at times, clumsy, yet there is felt the lack of constitutional and statutory provision for giving to the people, through their duly elected representatives, the power to fix responsibility for administrative errors or failures. That is particularly true of acts of Cabinet Officers and other executive agents. While public opinion is an autocratic agent and the press wields a great influence, yet several changes are needed to meet modern conditions.

The *first* of these is to amend the constitution to make a President ineligible for re-election; increase the term of office to six years; and change the date of the inauguration of the President and the beginning Congress to December 4th next following the national elections. Under our present system the political platforms and issues cool off before March 4th, and, by Congress taking its seat immediately following the elections, there would be an

acknowledgment of the responsiveness of the government to the popular will.

The *second* step would be to recognize the the existence of the Cabinet in the Constitution by its providing that, if Cabinet Officers are selected from members of the House or Senate, they may retain their seat and their vote. Whereas, if not regularly elected members of either House or Senate, they shall have a seat in the House with the right to speak, but without the right to vote.

The *third* change in the Constitution which is desirable, is to make treaties effective when approved by a majority in the Senate instead of by a two-thirds vote, as now. With a Senate of opposite political complexion from the President, it is extremely difficult to get a two-third's majority, and even with the complexion the same as that of the President, the approval of a treaty by a majority in power definitely fixes the responsibility on that particular political party, and with the two-third's vote necessary it is impossible to fix the responsibility, which shows the desirability of a majority only being necessary.

The *fourth* change in the Constitution which is desirable is the abolition of the Electoral College which would mean the election of the President and Vice President by popular majority.

Lloyd George, in a significant speech in the House of Commons, on December 12th, 1921, said:

> "In reference to external affairs the position of the Dominions has been completely revolutionized in the last four years. Since the war they have been given equal rights with Great Britain in the control of the foreign policy of the Empire. It was won by the aid they gave us in the Great War. There was not a single platoon from the dominions in the Crimean War. In the recent Great War millions of young, strong, brave, indomitable men came from all the dominions to help the motherland in her hour of danger. The dominions therefore claim the right to be consulted. The instrument of foreign policy must be the British Foreign Office. That had been accepted by all the diminions as inevitable, but the sole control of Great Britain over foreign policy is now vested in the Empire as a whole. Ireland will have the right of Empire, will share the responsibility of Empire, and will take her

> part with the other free states in discussing policy, and that commits her to the responsibility which no doubt her people will honor."

Lord Curzon said, at the same time, in the House of Lords:

> "The influence of the Crown is increasing rather than diminishing factor in the life of England and this without the smallest infringement on the peoples' liberties or the slightest strain on the fabric of the constitution. There were occasions when the sovereign could perform and say the word which no subject, however influential, could attempt and which expressed as no subject could, the views of the peoples."

For the moment, as Frederick Harrison says, "Everything is restless, provisional and uncertain," but the world is at least showing a tendency to do away with "the predatory designs of ruling dynasties and military and economic castes" as contrary to the "world's spirit which makes and unmakes civilizations." At any rate the country which is not prepared to fight for its existence had better seek protection by some artificial arrangements. The "Monroe Doc-

trine'' has thrown its mantle over part of the earth's surface but what passes for government in many countries of the world, although beautiful in ''form,'' is so lacking in administrative efficiency as to offer a good example of the impossibility of running a business enterprise on the same lines.

Anyone who believes that the world is not now storing up for itself a lot of future wars is blind to the lack of disinterestedness which has governed many of the settlements growing out of the recent World War.

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